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# IRELAND,

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## CHAPTER XVI.

### LAND PRACTICALLY AND SOCIALLY CONSIDERED.

THE INDUSTRY OF THE CULTIVATOR THE TRUE MEASURE OF THE VALUE OF LAND.—EXISTING VALUATIONS—OBJECTIONS MADE TO THEM.—FORMS FOR MEASURING THE VALUE OF LAND AND RENT.—STATISTICAL DETAILS.—PEASANTRY—PRAISE OF THEIR INHERENT GOOD QUALITIES NOT EXAGGERATED.—GENERAL OBSERVATIONS UPON THE VIRTUES OF THE LOWER CLASSES.—CHARACTER OF THE IRISH, BY OLD AUTHORS AND MODERN.—STRONG DEVOTIONAL TURN OF MIND.—WRETCHEDNESS OF THE IRISH PEASANT.—HEALTHINESS AND COMELINESS OF HIS CHILDREN.—EARLY MARRIAGES.—FEVER.—EJECTMENT.—THE POOR LAW, ITS FAILURE AND EXPENSIVENESS.—BEGGARS, WAKES, PATTERNS AND FAIRS.—CRIME, NOT RELIGIOUS OR POLITICAL, BUT AGRARIAN—ITS EXTENT, AND MEANS OF SUPPRESSION.—RIBANDMEN.—SPIES, INFORMERS, CONSEQUENT DEMORALIZATION OF THE PEOPLE.—LANDLORDS DEALING EQUITABLY WITH TENANTS, POWERFUL FOR ALL PURPOSES.—ESTATES OF ENGLISH PROPRIETORS AMONGST THE BEST MANAGED IN IRELAND.—LORDS HAWARDEN, FORTESCUE, STANLEY, PALMERSTON AND OTHERS.—DEFEAT OF THREATENING NOTICES.—FATHER MATHEW AND THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT.—REMEDIAL SUGGESTIONS.—MANAGEMENT OF FARMS AND ESTATES.—LAND AGENTS AND RECEIVERS.—RECENT LEGISLATION AFFECTING LAND, &c.

IN all countries, the labour of man makes the land of value. In one spot the soil may be naturally rich, in another com-

paratively poor, but in both the industry of the cultivator is the great index and measure of its productiveness.

This observation, if well founded, cuts at the root of some heavy labours which have been prosecuted for several years in Ireland without producing any results commensurate with the public desire expressed, or the public expense incurred on the occasion. There has been and there still is a loud demand in that country for an accurate survey and valuation of the lands of the whole country. The proprietors in making this call seem to have reasoned thus:—Let the government ascertain the true value of the land, and as it will then be easy to calculate what it will fairly bear for rent and taxation, room will no longer be left for exaction, or any of those disagreements between landlord and tenant which have led to so many disturbances and crimes. Much has been done to gratify the prevailing wish in this respect, but the consequent degree of satisfaction appears small indeed.

We have two general valuations of Ireland.\* The first has been executed, as far as it has proceeded, by Mr. Griffith the engineer, under an act passed in the reign of Geo. IV., amended by another, 6 & 7 Will. IV. c. 84. The second has been completed by the Poor Law Commissioners. The evidence taken before the Land Commissioners shows how much both these valuations are open to criticism. That by Mr. Griffith has been pronounced so considerably below the letting value as to be unavailable for practical purposes, while that by the Poor Law Commissioners is described as loose, inaccurate, and even fraudulent. (*Digest of Land Commission Evidence, Part II.*)

The latter objection, though the more startling of the two, is the less serious on account of the facilities afforded by the law for its gradual correction. The other objection is not so easily answered. Except as a measure of rent the utility of a general valuation is not obvious, and a fair measure of rent it

\* The Valuation and Survey by Mr. Griffith is not to be confounded with the Ordnance Survey of Ireland under Col. Colby and Capt. Larcom. The latter, up to the year 1847-8, had cost about £886,000—the former will hardly be completed for less than £200,000.



cannot possibly become on account of the numerous minute details, local and personal, which must in every case be demanded as separate and independent elements of calculation. Capital, the quality of the soil, the system of cultivation, the contiguity of markets, facilities for procuring manure and soil, and, above all, the character and industry of the cultivator—all these are questions to be considered by themselves in every case, and they are only to be determined by local and personal tests, which neither Mr. Griffith nor any other person can furnish in a general work.

The truth upon this subject is well conveyed in a passage and some extracts from Part II. of the Digest of the Evidence already referred to:—

“It is, no doubt, very difficult, not to say impossible, to estimate, beforehand and with *certainly*, any result that is to grow out of numerous details which may be affected by various contingencies. But this is assuredly not a reason why all provident calculations in reference to such subjects should be abandoned. The most that can be hoped for in any such calculation, is a proximate, not a certain, estimate beforehand. This proximate estimate can only be obtained by the consideration of its regulating details; and in the subject now under consideration, the very labour and repeated investigations which these calculations would entail must afford the most useful national training that can well be conceived. Besides accomplishing the direct object aimed at, they would probably go farther to correct the prevalent discordant pretensions of classes, and to establish the equitable interests of all persons connected with land, than any other measure.

“The elements of these calculations are well known to many, and ought to be minutely considered and understood by all owners and occupiers of land; nor is there any insurmountable difficulty in their application.

“The evidence of one of the witnesses proves that this theory has been for a considerable time in practical operation as a branch of the instruction afforded to pupils in the agricultural school of Loughash.

“An extract from a valuation report made upon this principle offers, in a tabular form, every detail of information that can be required either by the owner or occupier, with a view to establish an equitable bargain in reference to the use of the land in question, as well as to point out how its productive powers may be increased to the highest point of which it is capable.





Continued.

Cost of cultivation of Lot, including all charges.

To present Ignorant Occupiers.										To intelligent Occupiers.							
47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64
For super- intendence and skill.	For labour.	For interest on capital.	For Repairs	For insur- ance and contin- gencies.	For seed.	For taxes.	For rent.	Total cost.	For super- intendence and skill.	For labour.	For interest on capital.	For Repairs	For insur- ance and contin- gencies.	For seed.	For taxes.	For rent.	Total cost.
£ s. d. 0 18 11	£ s. d. 8 19 10	£ s. d. 0 14 2	£ s. d. 0 10 10	£ s. d. 4 6 1	£ s. d. 3 1 5	£ s. d. 9 1 2	£ s. d. 16 9 3	£ s. d. 17 9 3	£ s. d. 2 7 3	£ s. d. 11 16 8	£ s. d. 0 14 2	£ s. d. 4 6 1	£ s. d. 4 6 1	£ s. d. 2 7 3	£ s. d. 9 1 3	£ s. d. 3 15 8	£ s. d. 21 14 8
0 14 6	7 5 3	0 10 10	3 7 1	3 7 1	2 7 1	7 3 1	2 7 4	14 1 6	1 16 3	9 5 1	0 12 8	3 7 1	3 7 1	1 16 3	7 3 3	3 3 6	17 4 8
13 5 1	16 5 1	1 5 0	8 2	8 2	5 8 6	16 4 1	5 4 1	31 10 9	4 3 6	21 1 9	1 6 10	8 2	8 2	4 3 6	16 4 4	6 19 2	38 19 4

Amount available for support of farmer's family, £19 11s. 8½d.

Amount available for support of farmer's family, £27 0s. 3½d.

Cost of cultivation of Lot, including all charges.

To intelligent Occupiers, effecting and preserving all the permanent improvements required.

65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	Proper course of cultivation.
For super- intendence and skill.	For labour.	For interest on capital.	For Repairs.	For insur- ance and contin- gencies.	For seed.	For taxes.	For rent, and interest on investment.	Total cost.	By present ignorant occupiers.	By intelligent occupiers.	By intelligent occupiers, if all the requisite, &c.	
£ s. d. 4 14 7	£ s. d. 12 6 0	£ s. d. 0 18 9	£ s. d. 4 6 1	£ s. d. 4 6 1	£ s. d. 2 7 3	£ s. d. 9 1 3	£ s. d. 7 1 1	£ s. d. 28 6 9	10 1	8	6 1	5 course rotation.
3 12 7	9 12 6	0 14 6	3 7 1	3 7 1	1 16 3	7 3 3	5 8 11	21 19 4	10	8	6 1	5 course rotation.
8 7 3	21 18 6	1 13 4	8 2	8 2	4 3 6	16 4	12 10 10	50 6 1				

Amount available for support of farmer's family, £32 7s. 3d.

77

Smallest number of aditute acres that would support a family of five individuals, and enable them to pay rent without curtailing their requisite subsistence. &c., supposing them entirely dependent on farm.

Proper course of cultivation.

5 course rotation.

Continued from page 4.

Continued.

“CALCULATION OF ACREABLE COST OF IMPROVEMENTS.

“Col. 13, Lot 1, is calculated as follows:—

For subsoiling per statute acre, 42 days' work, at 10d. per	£1 15 0
Thorough-draining per statute acre, drains 21 feet apart	2 5 0
Enclosing farm would require 20 lineal perches of fence per acre, at 6d.	0 10 0

“RATE OF RETURN UPON INVESTMENT.

“Col. 15, Lot 1, is found by taking the difference (18s.) between the present value of the land (12s.) as found in Col. 27, and its improved value, (30s.) in Col. 45. Thus, if the acreable outlay incurred, £4 10s.: give a return of 18s.: £100 will give: £20.

“The total in Col. 15, is found by taking the difference (£7 6s. 8d.) between the total rents in Cols. 72 and 54. Then, if the total outlay (£54 1s. 9½d.) in Col. 14, give a yearly increase of £7 6s. 8d.: £100 will give a return of: £3 10s. nearly.

“TIME REQUIRED FOR REPAYMENT OF OUTLAY.

“Col. 16, Lot 1.—The time required to repay the outlay for improvement, by the return from the land improved, is calculated by adding the interest at five per cent. to the acreable outlay, and deducting from their sum the *increase* of rent.

“This remainder shows the sum still in advance at the end of the first year. The interest, at five per cent., on this remainder, is added to the remainder at the end of the second year; and from their sum the acreable increase of rent is again deducted, which shows the sum out of pocket at the end of the second year. And by repeating this operation for each year, until the whole original outlay is absorbed, the number of years required for the repayment is ascertained.

“VALUE OF AVERAGE ANNUAL GROSS PRODUCE PER ACRE.

“Cols. 17, 18, and 19, are calculated by ascertaining how much of each crop would be produced on one acre, throughout the respective rotation by which the land is cultivated, under each variety of circumstances set forth; then fixing a value for each kind of produce, adding together the values of each crop during the rotation, and dividing this sum by the number of years in the respective rotation, the several averages are obtained respectively.

“COST OF CULTIVATION, PER ACRE—LABOUR.

“Cols. 21, 30, and 39, are calculated by ascertaining the cost of labour requisite for the cultivation of each crop grown on an acre, during the respective rotation; adding together all these amounts; and dividing their sum by the number of years in rotation, for the average set forth.



**"COST OF CULTIVATION, PER ACRE—SUPERINTENDENCE AND SKILL.**

"Cols. 20, 29, and 38, require some explanation. The farmer here may be looked upon in the light of an agent, managing for the proprietor, and keeping a debtor and creditor account of the farm; one item of which account would be a charge for his own superintendence, which should necessarily be proportioned to his skill and the effective results he produced, and to the time such superintendence would require, as proportioned to the extent of the farm. It is assumed that the smallest extent for which a proprietor would find it remunerative to purchase the exclusive services of a superintendent would be 100 acres; that the services of an ordinary ignorant person of this class of farmer would be had for £20 a-year; that the services of an intelligent overseer, capable of directing an improved description of tillage, could be had for £50 a-year; and that the services of a man of a still higher class, capable of effecting and maintaining all the improvements of which the land is capable, would be worth £100 a-year. The several rates per acre of each of these salaries, divided over the 100 acres, respectively, would give 4s. as in Col. 20; 10s. as in Col. 29; and 20s. as in Col. 38, which rates are, therefore, respectively to be credited to the farmer, besides what he and his family can earn whilst employed in labouring the land, &c.

**" TAXES.**

"Cols. 26, 35, 44, 53, 62, 71.—Taxes appear to be a charge of so varying a nature, that it is difficult to arrange an equitable contract of any considerable duration where the tenant is liable for them.

"The county cess has increased, in different counties of Ireland, from five to fourteen fold since the year 1775; and without assuming that a precisely corresponding increase has taken place on individual farms, it is nevertheless certain that a very great increase of costs on farms by this charge has occurred, which may not have been contemplated by the farmer at the time of making his contract.

"The safe way therefore is, that the proprietor should take upon himself this charge, reserving, *as rent*, the amounts in the two columns marked Rent and Taxes, and setting the farms *tax free*.

**"SMALLEST QUANTITY OF LAND THAT WOULD SUPPORT A FAMILY OF FIVE, EXCLUSIVELY DEPENDENT ON THEIR FARM.**

"Cols. 74, 75, 76.—It is assumed that £5 per head, per annum, is the smallest sum that should be estimated for maintenance, making for a family of five, £25. The sum of the first four columns under each view, offered in the return of the cost of cultivation of each lot, shows the proportion of produce applicable to the farmer's own use, being the charge for superintendence; the charge for labour, which in these small farms is all executed by his own family; the charge for interest of capital; and

the charge for repairs. The acreable amount of the sum of these four charges being taken as a divisor, and £25 as a dividend, the quotient will be the smallest number of acres that would suffice on this scale."

The Earl of Mountcashel contributed a plan and some details to the same Commissioners upon this subject, which deserve attention, as well for their intrinsic merit, as for the proof they afford of pains taken by an Irish landlord, not only to acquire, but to act upon, a correct knowledge of the state of facts which must at all times regulate the welfare both of himself and of his tenants.

"This is a calculation to prove what is the fair valuation of land in Ireland—the amount of the produce, and the fair price of such produce—for the value of all land must depend upon the amount of agricultural produce which the land is capable of giving, and at the same time the average prices which that produce will fetch. Before I state this plan, I must however say that it is not applicable to every kind of land; there are some few exceptions, and the exceptions are these: the value of town fields and building ground is for obvious reasons left out of this calculation, as also the value of waste and mountain land, which not only depends upon quality but locality, and particularly its proximity to manure. Taking the average rotation of crops into account, an average value of the produce is thus struck, three-fourths of which ought to belong to the tenant for profit, taxes, and expense of cultivation, and one-fourth is the fair rent a landlord is entitled to receive. Now before I go further I may be allowed to explain myself. I first formed this notion many years ago, upon reading Adam Smith's work upon the 'Wealth of Nations.' He lays down a rule for ascertaining the value of land, and he divides the value of the produce into three parts: he says, one-third should go for the rent to the landlord, and the other two-thirds to the tenant for his remuneration and expense; however, more modern writers on political economy have found that this division was not a fair one towards the tenant, because since the time of Adam Smith the taxes and charges of various kinds have increased materially, and more modern writers have therefore divided the produce into four parts; they have laid down that one-fourth ought to be the amount which should go to the landlord for rent. I accordingly adopt that plan as laid down by modern writers on political economy, and the plan I hold in my hand is framed upon that principle. Three-fourths of the produce ought to belong to the tenant for profit, taxes, and expense of cultivation, and one-fourth is the fair rent a landlord is entitled to receive. Now having laid this down, I have worked it out, and I have

given some examples to show that it will answer the purpose not only for this county or any particular estate, but the whole of Ireland. I suppose that the land will produce a rotation of three crops; I commence with potatoes, and have taken wheat for the second year, and for the third year I take oats. I then divide the land into various qualities. I have taken No. 1 as being the very richest of our land; then No. 2 as being something inferior; and No. 3 as something inferior to that. I have given six examples; but the commissioners will recollect that although I have only given six, those six will not apply to every quality of land; there will be intermediate qualities of land: but if I prove the principle to be good, it is very easy to adapt it to any quality of land which may produce something more or something less. The whole principle is, to ascertain what is an acre of land in the country capable of producing for three years in succession, and then taking the average price of such produce, and that is what I have worked out on this plan. The first year (potatoes) the produce will be at least sixty barrels, or eight tons eight hundred three quarters. I am speaking of the statute acre. There is some land that will produce eighty barrels, but I do not go to that extent. Then I take each barrel (which is our measure here) at an average price of 4s. per barrel; that would produce at the rate of £12 an acre for the first year. Then I take the second year—wheat to follow the potatoes—and I suppose eight barrels to be the produce, which upon the best inquiry I can make I have ascertained to be the average produce, which is equal to thirty-seven bushels and twenty pounds; this I take at the average price of 25s. per barrel, which would make the produce of the crop amount to £10. I then take the third year, a crop of oats, which I estimate will produce ten barrels, or fifty-one bushels and twenty-two pounds, which, taken at the price of 8s. a barrel, the average price, will make £4. Then having got those three years' crops I add them together, and it makes a total of £26 in the three years. I divide it by three in order to get the average amount, which will be £8 13s. 4d. I then divide by four, in order to get the fourth part, and the fourth part will be £2 3s. 4d. And that I say ought to be the rent for the first-class land, leaving three-fourths to the tenant. I then work this in a similar way upon the next quality of land, and bring out as the rent £1 18s. 6d.; for the third quality £1 9s.; the fourth quality £1 2s. 5½d; the fifth quality 13s. 7d.; and the sixth quality 7s. 10d. per acre. I have stated before that there may be intermediate land; but if the principle is a right one, it is a principle by which you may ascertain the value of any land, and what ought to be paid as a fair rent for it."



*His Lordship delivered in the following paper :*

No. 1.				£	s.	d.
First year,	potatoes,	60 barrels (8 tons 8 cwt. 3 qrs.),	at 4s.	12	0	0
Second year,	wheat,	8 barrels (37 bushels 20 lb.),	at 25s.	10	0	0
Third year	oats,	10 barrels (51 bushels 22 lb.),	at 8s.	4	0	0
				3)	26	0 0
				4)	8	13 4

Rent per acre . . . 2 3 4

No. 2.				£	s.	d.
First year,	potatoes,	60 barrels (8 tons 8 cwt. 3 qrs.),	at 4s.	12	0	0
Second year,	wheat,	6 barrels (28 bushels),	at 25s.	7	10	0
Third year,	oats,	9 barrels (46 bushels 16 lb.),	at 8s.	3	12	0
				3)	23	2 0
				4)	7	14 0

Rent per acre . . . 1 18 6

No. 3.				£	s.	d.
First year,	potatoes,	50 barrels (7 tons 2 qrs. 14 lb.),	at 3s. 6d.	8	15	0
Second year,	wheat,	5 barrels (23 bushels 20 lb.),	at 25s.	6	5	0
Third year,	oats,	6 barrels (30 bushels 36 lb.),	at 8s.	2	8	0
				3)	17	8 0
				4)	5	16 0

Rent per acre . . . 1 9 0

No. 4.				£	s.	d.
First year,	potatoes,	40 barrels (5 tons 12 cwt. 2 qrs.),	at 3s. 6d.	7	0	0
Second year,	wheat,	4 barrels (18 bushels 40 lb.),	at 23s.	4	12	0
Third year,	oats,	5 barrels (25 bushels 30 lb.),	at 7s. 6d.	1	17	6
				3)	13	9 6
				4)	4	9 10

Rent per acre . . . 1 2 5½

No. 5.				£	s.	d.
First year,	potatoes,	30 barrels (5 tons 4 cwt. 1 qr. 14 lb.),	at 3s. 6d.	5	5	0
Second year,	oats,	4 barrels (20 bushels 24 lb.),	at 7s.	1	8	0
Third year,	grass, to fatten three sheep			1	10	0
				3)	8	3 3
				4)	2	14 4

Rent per acre . . . 0 13 7

## No. 6.

	£	s.	d.
First year, potatoes, 20 barrels (2 tons 16 cwt. 1 qr.), at 3s.	3	0	0
Second year, oats, 3 barrels (15 bushels 18 lb.), at 6s.	0	18	0
Third year, grass, to fatten two sheep . . . . .	0	16	0
	<hr/>		
	3)	4	14 0
	<hr/>		
	4)	1	11 4
	<hr/>		
Rent per acre . . . . .	0	7	10

I have tried this upon my own estate. If a tenant of mine comes to me and says he has his land too high, I immediately say, 'Very well, I shall try it according to my own plan; and if you can show me that you have your land higher than that, and that you have not three-fourths of the produce for yourself, I am willing to lower it;' and I proceed to try it in that way, and I find I can satisfy the tenant, and I am satisfied myself, and great good results from it, because anything that can satisfy the tenant and the landlord, does a great deal of good in Ireland, and takes away a great deal of the cause of that discontent and division which we are desirous of putting an end to."

Upon this proposal from Lord Mountcashel to allow one-fourth of the produce for rent, it is to be observed that the more experienced land-valuers who gave evidence upon the same occasion reserved one-third of the gross produce for that purpose. Others estimated one-fifth as the rent value, while all, as was to be expected, concurred in treating grazing land as furnishing more certain data for calculations of this kind than any other.

Reverting to Mr. Griffith's valuation, it is worthy of note that the act of Parliament is stated by him to have given in a schedule, "A scale of prices founded on the average prices of agricultural produce throughout the principal maritime markets of Ireland during a given period, when the value of agricultural produce was considered to be low." But the prices turned out to be useless. This admission deserves attention. Positive information is furnished relating to a definite period, but, when it comes to be applied, the progress of the measure which produced it shows that it cannot be safely acted upon, and, what is equally important, that even authoritative documents are not trustworthy as permanent

standards of reference upon the subject. For it appears that in the year 1830, even before Mr. Griffith had commenced the valuation authorized by the act—see his Evidence before the Land Commissioners, No. 6, Q. 84—he “ascertained that the general average prices for agricultural produce throughout the principal markets of Ireland were one-eighth, or 2s. 6d. in the pound, higher than those contained in the act, and accordingly the amount of valuation according to the act prices should be in each case one-eighth less than if the valuation were made according to the then prices.”

This explanation is necessary to make Mr. Griffith's valuation intelligible even as a standard of information for the purposes stated. A standard of practical authority it obviously never can become, for the reasons already given. The marrow of many years' labour is comprised in the following tables.

The whole land of the country is divided into five classes, which, with their relative rent-values per acre, and the proportion of produce in each allowed for rent, are thus expressed:—

Classes.		Rent per acre.	Proportion of Produce for Rent.
		s.      s.	
Arable Land,	best	20 to 30	one-fourth.
“	second	10 to 20	one-sixth.
“	third	under 10	one-eighth.
Pasture Land,		20 to 30	one-half.
Inferior and Mountain Pasture,			one-third.

Some additional matter bearing directly upon this part of the question, namely, the productiveness of the soil in Ireland, is to be gleaned from a Report by Captain Larcom in 1848. It is there held, that wheat land is divisible into four classes, of which the first comprises such crops as would yield 9 barrels of 20 stones to each statute acre; the second 6 to 9 barrels; the third 5 to 6; and the fourth under 5. Oat land is divisible into four classes, varying from 5 to 11 barrels of 14 stones to the acre; bere, from 6 to 10 barrels of 16 stones



to the acre; rye, from 7 to 11 barrels of 20 stones to the acre; potatoes, from 31 to 93 barrels of 20 stones to the acre; turnips, from 12 to 21 tons of 160 stones to the acre; beans, from 24 to 39 bushels of 8 gallons to the acre; peas, from 18 to 37 bushels of 8 gallons to the acre; mangel-wurzell, from 12 to 24 tons the acre; parsnips, from 7 to 11 tons; cabbage, from 9 to 19 tons; and hay, from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 tons.

The several counties already valued and their respective valuations stand thus:—

COUNTIES.	Acreable Contents			Annual Amount of Valuation.			Expense of Valuation.			Cost of the Valuation per acre.	Rate of Cost to each £100 of the Valuation.			
	A.	R.	P.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Antrim,	693,065	1	39	474,361	3	8	11,684	13	4	0	4	2	9	3
Armagh,	312,327	2	28	242,500	0	7	4,886	15	8	0	3 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	2	0	4
Carlow,	221,292	3	18	166,739	2	9	2,776	2	5	0	3	1	13	3
Carrickfergus,	16,700	1	34	13,520	14	2	221	15	0	0	3	1	12	8
Cavan,	466,260	2	19	251,024	11	0	4,245	18	3	0	2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	1	13	9
Clare,	768,264	3	5	317,660	7	8	6,108	3	3	0	2	1	18	5
Donegal,	1,185,641	0	32	225,048	14	5	8,752	8	2	0	1 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	3	17	9
Down,	611,209	0	31	455,713	19	7	11,501	13	1	0	4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	2	10	5
Fermanagh,	417,735	0	21	171,146	12	0	6,830	18	9	0	3 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	3	19	9
Galway,	1,476,717	0	6	437,031	3	8	9,931	13	7	0	1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	2	5	5
Galway Town	22,492	3	23	26,877	9	7	336	16	1	0	3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	1	5	0
Kildare,	418,415	0	50	290,550	10	6	4,564	5	1	0	2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	1	11	5
Kilkenny,	506,333	0	35	352,752	6	7	5,388	2	1	0	2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	1	10	7
King's Co.	493,018	3	22	234,250	14	0	4,894	18	5	0	2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	2	1	9
Leitrim,	376,212	1	15	121,003	5	6	3,263	17	2	0	2	2	13	11
Londonderry,	508,741	3	22	220,430	4	0	8,207	15	7	0	3 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	3	14	5
Longford,	257,221	2	22	150,795	15	2	2,505	0	8	0	2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	1	13	2
Louth,	202,159	0	8	194,922	7	4	2,766	12	11	0	3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	1	8	4
Mayo,	1,321,283	0	1	299,851	16	6	7,956	15	7	0	1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	2	13	0
Meath,	577,043	1	13	527,593	11	0	5,778	12	0	0	2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	1	1	10
Monaghan,	318,734	1	6	203,360	7	4	3,817	13	7	0	2 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	1	17	6
Queen's Co.	573,200			394,271										
Roscommon,	585,398	3	18	289,363	14	7	5,298	0	6	0	2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	1	16	7
Sligo,	451,085	3	31	190,751	19	9	3,923	0	11	0	2	2	1	0
Tyrone,	778,543	0	39	277,555	18	3	10,302	0	9	0	3	3	14	2
Westmeath,	433,768	2	26	290,697	8	5	3,842	4	4	0	2	1	6	5
Wexford,	573,199	3	18	394,721	15	11	7,218	19	3	0	3	1	16	7
Wicklow,	501,397	1	14	232,728	19	3	4,886	17	0	0	2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	2	1	11

If we are to apply to Ireland the principle that it is, after all, the labour of man that makes land productive and valuable, we shall have to consider the character of the peasant even more than the quality of the land, and to lay more stress upon his industrial disposition and social habits than upon the resources of the soil from which he has to draw the means of subsistence.

This is a pleasing but not an easy task. If the Irish as a people have one fault more prominent than another, it is that of self-adulation: they praise themselves and their country immoderately. To hear an Irishman discourse of the fertility of the soil, or the picturesque beauties of his country, one would suppose that it far excelled in these respects all other lands. Flattery of this kind works a double mischief; it befools those who indulge in it, and inflicts grave disappointment upon those who are misled by it. But if there is much to blame in this vain extravagance, it is pleasing to add of another, and perhaps a more important national characteristic,—a favourite topic of commendation, frequently discussed and loudly extolled in terms the most eulogistic and glowing,—that there is little, if any exaggeration, superadded to it. No, the inherent good qualities of the common people in Ireland have long and justly been a common theme of praise. The leading orator and movement-man of his age delighted to call them “the finest peasantry on the face of the earth!” Superlative commendation that, and yet the facts are neither few nor inconsiderable which go far to bear it fully out. With all their faults, and most grievous some of them have been, the peasantry of Ireland will stand the test of the severest examination of their claims to the possession of some of the best qualities human nature can display.

It is impossible to speak for five minutes to a working man in Ireland without being struck by the liveliness of his intelligence; and the more his class is seen the more will the virtues peculiar to it be found numerous, and by no means of an ordinary kind. Much has been said on this score, and much of what has been said has been ridiculed as unreal. Truth in

this, as in many other instances, has seemed stranger than fiction. Nor is that surprising: for there is scarcely a competent judge of such a question, who, upon being made acquainted with the state of the country and the general wretchedness of the mass of the population, could arrive at any other opinion than that few virtues could flourish amongst a people whose condition, to a certain extent, appears hostile to the very existence of virtue.

It cannot be necessary to show at the present day that extreme poverty is as uncongenial to the cultivation of moral worth as necessarily as a rock is unfavourable to vegetation. As naturally and certainly as rank weeds and poisonous plants are found to spring in miry swamps, so surely are wickedness and crimes the growth and consequences of poverty. This fact enhances our admiration of the poorer population of Ireland, whose social adversities make their good qualities so difficult of attainment. In that country the man who thrives by the sweat of his brow rises superior to fate and prescription, and proves to demonstration that in all that relates to the social inferiority of his country it is not his own nature that is at fault. Speaking contemptuously of the Irish peasant, however, has grown into a sort of fashion. Unfortunately for his reputation it has too often suited the purposes of political and religious disputation to place the worst side of his character conspicuously forward, while the generous and more redeeming traits have been purposely held in the back-ground. In the various expositions of the state of Ireland moreover, with which the public press abounds from time to time, nothing has been more common than some dashing offer to decide the whole vexatious question of our Irish policy upon the strength of a few insulated cases, thrown to the surface of things by the agitation of temporary events. Whenever *Ex uno disce omnes* is thus made the rule, it is enforced with an inveterate spirit. Sweeping censures of this kind cannot be too strongly deprecated: when applied to individuals they are seldom found exact; when directed against a whole people they are generally unjust. Extensive



knowledge, a very close observation of details, and powers of judgment equally penetrating and calm are indispensable in those who, venturing to furnish information to mankind at large, undertake the arduous charge of ascertaining and measuring the moral capability of individuals or nations, and awarding to each his proper rank in the scale of social worth and merit.

When estimating the characters of different countries and persons, the eye is often closed to some of the leading elements of a just and deliberate conclusion. Individuals as well as nations are then criticised by a few special passages in their career, although these are often the results of accidental circumstances, and the reputation of an individual in society is every now and then determined by the greater or less degree in which his actions happen to be adapted to the requirements or the contingences of a particular occasion. But the true natural qualities of the human mind can seldom be fairly tested, even by persons possessing considerable experience, according to the effects of accidental experiments or isolated trials. Almost every Irishman has a constitutional temperament highly conducive to the display of extreme character. His moments of excitement, and the even tenor of his life, unassailed by provocation, offer portraits of very different features and expression. One consequence of this characteristic is particularly remarkable—in some instances it lightens, in others it aggravates, the hardship of many a severe condition; sometimes the sufferer is relieved, sometimes his fate is rendered more obnoxious. Society at large is affected in a corresponding degree in either case. Noting these peculiar tones of the Irish mind, we should not fail to keep concurrently before our eyes the general analogies legitimately applicable to the subject; as, for instance, how dependent a man's conduct, if not his character, frequently is upon his means—how often a competent income proves a great aid to virtue—and how generally distress and penury are found to precede and propagate vice. Much of the good or evil daily made manifest in society is generated simply because, on

the one side, when the opportunity for industrious occupation, and the disposition to take advantage of it arise, the person seeing and feeling them is able to insist with hopeful energy upon the genial influence they bring to bear upon him. In the opposite scale we have to place the weight of evil that sinks the beam, because although the disposition\* to be useful exists, and full powers of mind are at hand panting for the trial, and confident of success; yet some miserable impediment, some small, but most vexatious preliminary, a want of money—sometimes a few pounds, sometimes even a few shillings—in a badly formed and ill regulated social state, necessarily keeps the disposition in check, and renders that effort impossible, which, if made and proceeded with, might have tended on to independence and prosperity. Whenever such difficulties happen to recur in a number of cases, society at large must be injured, and the state must suffer. To the public material damage will be done, while the wrong and the insult offered to the individual—including his moral sense and worldly interests—must, if long continued or often repeated, almost inevitably superinduce either premature death or complicated crime.

A considerate mind, with these reflections deduced from facts before it, will pause before it pronounces an unqualified sentence upon those who are born, and bred up, and live in extreme poverty. Before we pass a severe judgment upon the faults, the errors, or the offences of that class, we are bound to investigate all the circumstances in which they are placed—to reflect how far these may, insensibly to the parties themselves, have contributed to their degeneracy; and how far the State which arraigns them is itself censurable in allowing the condition of things to exist, in the midst of which the

\* "The saddest aspect the decay of civil society can exhibit, has always appeared to me to be this: when honourable, honour-loving, conscientious diligence cannot by the utmost efforts of toil obtain the necessities of life, or when the working man cannot even find work, but must stand with folded arms lamenting his forced idleness, through which himself and his family are verging to starvation, or, it may be, actually suffering the pains of hunger."—*Carlyle*.

offender has sprung, on the first provocation, into the maturity of crime, so that his career has been shaped, and his propensities have been as positively charged with the elements of evil, as the hill-side exposed to the sunless north wind is bleak and barren, while the obverse, reflecting the generous beams of the south, gladdens the eye with verdure and fertility.

By far too much stress is everywhere laid upon the vices of the lower orders, principally because the forms and observances of our social system bring them prominently under our notice whenever they occur. Of those persons nevertheless, who have been in the habit of residing in large cities, and while in them have taken an interest in observing the habits and pursuits of the poor—whether in London, Dublin, Liverpool, Edinburgh or Paris, will matter little—there are few who have not arrived at a strong feeling of admiration for their virtues. If we compare at all fairly the temptations of the two classes, we shall be bound to pronounce the poor man decidedly more virtuous than the rich one. We seldom dwell upon the fact that almost all the immoralities a poor man can fall into attract immediate attention, and are promptly visited with correction:—the rich man sins against propriety, and escapes exposure and punishment, because in nine cases out of ten no legal Cerberus watches his pastime. But if a poor man exceeds the bounds of decorum he is detected at once; if he is intoxicated, he staggers home on foot, and the police necessarily fall foul of him the first slip he makes: the rich man drinks twice as deeply in an adjoining tavern, calls his cab and drives unheeded and unchecked past the policeman who is dragging his poorer fellow drunkard through the mire to prison! And so it is in a thousand ways. If the artisan risks a shilling on a game of chance in a public house, he and the landlord are almost sure to be fined and imprisoned, while a fortune may be dissipated without a word of censure at the other temple of fortune. Wealth, in a word, is always sure to enjoy facilities for protecting and hiding its excesses whenever it feels they are beginning to grow shameful. If they were laid bare



to public notice as often as they are committed, the world would be a better judge of their character and intensity, and of the extent to which hypocrisy and untruth prevail in circles which might be supposed to be exempt from the contamination of their influence. Where is the man who ever estimated the number of the honest thousands who toil from early morn to latest night in all our large cities, for the bare means of supporting existence—exposed to all weathers, and denied all comforts—trafficking patiently from day to day, and from door to door, alike in wet and cold, and sunshine; their humble stock a handful of watercresses,—a basket of vegetables,—a little fruit or a dish of fish? What work like theirs, so weary and so wasting, is undergone by the upper classes? What even in the middle, the mercantile or professional ranks, do we find equal to the humble perseverance of these persons? From youth to manhood, and deep into old age, they do nothing but toil on thus lowly, animated by the decent pride of gaining an honest livelihood. These are general observations; they apply to all states and people: let us turn from them to the particular case of the poor Irishman, and fairly investigate it.

What is his cabin?—Mud! His food?—A single vegetable! His enjoyments?—Little superior to those of the animal whom necessity has made his associate! Yet how quick is his intelligence; how apt his capacity; how refined his wit; how warm his affections; how constant his attachments; how patient and untiring his industry. Are these the characteristics of a bad member of society? What shall we say of the toiling multitudes, who, unable to wrest from their poor strips of land in the counties of Kerry, Clare, Galway and Mayo, as many potatoes as will sustain existence during the course of the year, shut up their cabins and beg their way to the harvest fields of England, where, by undertaking the most laborious work, sleeping in the open air, and eating only the coarsest food, they save up as much money as will suffice to pay the rent of their cabin on their return

to it, and then are fain to starve through the remainder of the year.

A touching and most truthful picture of the condition of this multitude—they are to be counted not by thousands but by millions—and of the intellectuality by which many of them are distinguished, is to be found in the evidence of Michael Sullivan, a common labourer, who was examined as a witness before the Land Commissioners.

“3. What quantity of ground do you hold?—I hold no ground. I am a poor man. I have nothing but my labour.

“4. Under whom do you hold your house?—Under a farmer called Daniel Regan; just a house and an acre of ground.

“5. What do you pay for it?—I pay £3; £2 for the acre of ground, and £1 for the house.

“6. Have you the acre of ground always in the same place?—Different acres from time to time. The acre I have this year I cannot have it next year; he will have it himself. I must manure another acre, and without friends I could not live; without having some respectable friends who assist me, I could not appear as I am.

“7. What rate of wages do you get?—I get 6*d.* a-day every day he calls me; but I am not bound to get employment constant.

“8. Have you constant employment?—No; but whenever he wishes to call me, he gives me 6*d.* a-day and my diet; and then at other times I go down into the country, and earn £1 or 30*s.* according to the wages there.

“9. Where do you generally go?—To the lower part of this county. I may work in the county of Tipperary or Limerick.

“10. Is that at the harvest time?—Yes; I went out in harvest time, and work in digging potatoes.

“11. What family have you?—I have five children.

“12. Are there seven of you to be supported?—Yes.

“13. What age is the eldest child?—One of them is twelve years the 6th of last May; the other nine, and so on.

“14. Are any of the children employed by farmers?—Not one.

“15. How do you manage upon the 6*d.* a day to support the family?—My landlord has a road making for the use of the farm, and has employed the tenants there, and I cannot deny but I have employment at the present hour.

“16. What is your general food for the family?—Nothing at all but dry potatoes.

"17. Have you fish?—Not one, except they may bring a pen'orth home in a month; but it is not once in a month, or once in three months. If my poor wife sells her eggs, or makes up a skein of thread, in the market, she may take home with her a pen'orth or two pen'orth of something to nourish the children for that night; but in general I do not use 5s. of kitchen from one end of the year to the other, except what I may get at Christmas.

"18. Have you generally milk with your potatoes?—Not a drop. I have no means of getting it. I would think myself middling happy if I could give the five children that; and if they were near a National School, I could give them schooling. I have an idea of giving them schooling as well as I can. A better labouring man than what I am cannot afford his children any schooling, and even some of the people called farmers in the same place.

"19. Are there any free schools?—Not convenient to that place.

"20. Are you anxious that your children should be taught to read and write?—Yes; and so am I striving, but without the assistance of my good friends I could not do it.

"21. What does your wife make by the week from her eggs?—I cannot give you the account of that. She may make 2s. 6d. or 3s. now. She may be the means of making up that. That is not regulated as it ought. The farmer has a corn field convenient, and we must keep the fowls from the corn field.

"22. Have you not a little garden attached to the house?—Yes, for 400 cabbages or so.

"23. Have you a pig?—Yes.

"24. Have you a pig-house?—No.

"25. Where is he kept?—He must be kept in some part of the house, in a corner.

"26. Have you room for a pig-sty outside?—No. I might make room for the pig, if I was sure of the house for a second year, but I do not mean to go to the trouble; and many the same as me do not do so, not being sure of the house for a second year.

"27. What bedsteads have you or bedding?—I have a chaff bed and bed-clothes that would do my own business, but I am in want of a second one. I cannot afford to have it. I cannot complain myself, but I could complain for others. There are others of the poor working class, as I am myself, who have no beds, nor more than a gentleman or even a wealthy farmer would think too good for his pig, and they may lie in the clothes they wear by the day.

"28. Can none of your children find employment among the farmers?—They do not employ any of the children—not one; and even we must go ourselves into the country for the want of employment here: and I



blame much the landlords of the country for that, though they are very indulgent.

"The farmers in the same district, except one out of 100, cannot drink a pint of sour milk among five in family from about Christmas until about the 17th of March or so; and then generally they are forced to sell their sour milk in order to meet the rent, or pawn their clothes. I know in different places three women in one house trusting to one cloak, and for a time, perhaps, it might be in the pawn-office.

"31. Of what class are those women?—They work for farmers.

"32. What is the smallest quantity of land a man can support himself and his family out of at a moderate rent, by farming it, and not having any other means of support?—They could, I know, where they are encouraged in that place, support themselves by ten acres, properly cultivated, of good light land, better than what they are doing by thirty acres, from the want of capital and means.

"33. Do many of the people of your class emigrate to America?—Not many in the place, not in the very neighbourhood.

"34. Why do they not?—The most of them in that place are not able to emigrate from the want of money.

"35. Supposing the means of emigration were given to them, would they be willing to emigrate?—They are not anxious for it—they have not the courage; they are not so willing to emigrate.

"36. Those people you describe as being so wretched in their condition—supposing lands were supplied for them in America, would they be willing and anxious to emigrate?—It is hard for a man to account for another man's mind, but of course they would."

Let it not be supposed that the estimate here formed, and the opinions expressed, of Irish character, are those of an individual or of a party, of a particular school of thinking, or even of a single age only. The peasant in Ireland is now what he always has been :\* every authority is the same in that

\* The writers who corroborate the truth of this description are so numerous that a volume might be filled with the testimony they have brought to bear upon it. Kohl has already been quoted, Vol. I. p. 5. Let another, M. Von Raumer, speak for the rest. Writing from Ireland he says :—"My mind is filled with one thought, I can entertain no other; it is that of the inexpressible wretchedness of so many thousands. Here no words can express the frightful truth which everywhere meets the eye. To form an idea of it you must see these houses—not houses but huts, not huts but hovels—mostly without windows or apertures; the same entrance, the same narrow space for men and boys, the latter lively, sleek, and well fed, the former covered with rags, or rather hung with

respect. On this one point men concur, who think alike on no one other. The ancients and the moderns paint the Irish peasant in the same colours, and with the same features, and they both endow him with the same qualities. Is he a person on whom to vent reproaches? For centuries—and such centuries!—he has not degenerated. Fate ordained that he should not improve, but he would not let her make him worse.

The oldest English writer, who gives an account of Ireland and the Irish, is Geraldus Cambrensis, an historian, not of the highest authority upon all subjects, but upon the one before us well entitled to credit. He visited Ireland soon after the invasion, and was familiarly acquainted with its inhabitants at the time he wrote of them. His description therefore is worth extracting. He says, “The Irish are a strong and bold people, martial and prodigal in war, nimble, stout, and haughty of heart; careless of life but greedy of glory; courteous to strangers, constant in love, light of belief, impatient of injury, sensual, and implacable in enmity.”

It is easy to recognise in this old description the more salient characteristics of the present race. We feel as we read it that the author is dealing with no mean order of men; and we trust him on this point the more readily, because we are able to test his account of the country itself, and its most famous produce, by our own observations at the present time.

fragments of rags in a manner which it is impossible to conceive. If I except the respectable people in the towns, I did not see upon thousands of Irish a whole coat, a whole shirt, or any other part of their dress, but all in tatters.

“The ruins of ancient castles were pointed out to me, but how could I take any pleasure in them while the desolate ruined huts which surrounded me testified the distress of the present times more loudly than the others did the grandeur of the past!

“I have read and written much on the sufferings of different ages and nations, and wrote and read with sympathy, but it is quite another thing to see them in their gigantic form in our highly extolled times, denied and extenuated, nay, acknowledged and justified by those who, like the French, fancy that they are at the head of all human civilisation. No wonder if the native Irish, like the prophet of old, by the waters of Babylon sit down and weep, if I, a stranger, am compelled to reckon the few days I have spent amongst them most melancholy.”

“The soil is uneven, woody, wild, waterish, and boggy—so full of loughs and meres that great ponds of water are found upon the high mountains. These indeed make the place somewhat dangerous unto all new comers, by breeding rheums, dysenteries, and fluxes, whose usual remedy is Uskebagh, a wholesome *aqua vitæ*, that drieth more and flameth less than many hot confections.”\*

Hollinshed, too, has left us a picture of the “*mere Irish*,” in which, though some vice figures in the foreground, virtue decidedly predominates and gives its salient character to the delineation. “They are frank, amorous, sufferable in infinite pains, vain-glorious, retaining many sorcerers, excellent horsemen, delighted with wars, great alms-givers, passing in hospitality. The lower order are sensual and over-loose in living, but the same, when virtuously bred up or reformed, are such mirrors of holiness and austerity, that other nations retain but a shadow of devotion in comparison to them. As to abstinence and fasting, it is to them a familiar kind of chastisement. Greedy of praise they be, and fearful of dishonour; and to this end they esteem their poets, who write Irish learnedly, and pen their sonnets heroical, for which they are bountifully rewarded. The men are clean of skin and hue, of stature tall; the women well favoured, clean coloured, fair handed, big, and large, suffered from their infancy to grow at will, nothing curious of their features and proportion of body. The infants of the meaner sort are neither swaddled nor lapped in linen, but folded up stark naked in a blanket until they can go. They love tenderly their foster children, and bequeath to them a child’s portion, whereby they nourish sure friendship.”

Now that the lower order of Irish have not divested themselves of the better portion of the qualities here ascribed to their ancestors, the quickest traveller through the country

\* To this certificate of the high antiquity of whiskey and its great medicinal virtues, stamped with the commendation of the hostile invader, it should be added, and upon the same authority, that there was at the same time plenty of Poictou wine in the country. Another Irish custom, indulgence in French wine, is thus traced to a remote origin.



cannot fail to perceive. Perhaps the most striking trait in the national character is the intensity of that devotional feeling upon which this old chronicler emphatically dwells. It continues to this day conspicuously strong. A country chapel, during the hours of divine service, is sure to exhibit its penitent crowd kneeling in the open air because debarred of room within their humble temple. They appear bowed down in all the attitudes of fixed piety, and carried away by the most earnest expressions of sincere and humble emotion. There are few objects more affecting than the sight of hundreds of hale, strong men thus reverently prostrate in the act of adoring God. It is impossible to contemplate them without feeling convinced that some of the best qualities of which human nature is susceptible find a home in their hearts.

But it is not upon public occasions only—when the community at large renders its prescribed homage, and their presence and example may be supposed to excite a full, warm bosom to overflowing—that the devotional character of the Irish peasant makes itself distinctly manifest. The door of the Catholic chapel in Ireland is usually open throughout the day; and, be the hour what it may, the curious stranger will seldom enter its walls without finding some of the lower orders engaged in silent prayer. The wild churchyard and the solitary graves of their departed relatives are also frequent scenes of their piety. The passionate vehemence with which their grief is wont to break forth in those still retreats, and the enthusiasm with which the mercy of Heaven is implored for the souls they mourn after, are too vivid for actual description. A stranger observing such scenes, himself unperceived, might perhaps be led to turn from them as too impassioned and theatrical; but he should reflect that these simple people believe themselves communing with God alone, and think of no other witness to their humiliations. The frequency with which men are found thus engaged is not the least curious part of the custom. You may often discover some of the youngest and heartiest fellows of a village turning off to the churchyard on the hills, and

bending over the dead of a thousand years, and to all appearances wrapt in the deep spirit of the poet, who exclaims—

“ Would that the silent earth  
Of what it holds, could speak ; and every grave  
Be as a volume, shut, yet capable  
Of yielding its contents to ear and eye.”

Akin to this deep feeling of devotion, and springing, in all probability, from the same peculiarity of temperament, is the extraordinary patience with which the Irish will bear calamity, and submit to the attacks of extreme suffering. Without fortitude, and seldom displaying energy under the pressure of distress, they will nevertheless endure the heaviest ills and misfortunes with a humility that is positively affecting. Not only during the great famines of the years 1822 and 1846, but under the infliction of those less widely-spread contagions, which are so frequently re-produced in particular districts, numerous cases of this kind have been noted, so numerous indeed as to constitute a national characteristic. Urged by the pangs of hunger, and having disposed of every article of furniture and clothing for which a price could be obtained, these wretched creatures have been seen to abandon their desolate homes in hundreds—not to steal, to plunder or commit violence ; but to toil through fields and ditches, and wander along the sea-shore, picking up water-cresses, nettles, sea-weed, and other refuse for food : and when this miserable support has failed them, or the debility of the fever generated by it has rendered them incapable of further exertion, they have lain themselves quietly down by the open road-side, and imploring the casual passenger to send them a priest to make their peace with God, they have resigned themselves piously to death, and expired with a humble spirit not unworthy of the primitive martyr.

To the agreeable portraiture of the Irish character already furnished—portraiture so remarkable for their truthfulness and force—let us add two others from modern hands, which speak of the country as well as the people, and are not inferior

in point of fidelity and effect to those already quoted. The first of these, a well-drawn portrait, is to be found in Lord Macartney's manuscript, already quoted.—“The inhabitants of Ireland are a mixed race, descended from various adventurers, who engaged, by different views at different periods, to establish themselves in the country. The present motley generation is composed of parts not less heterogeneous than the inhabitants of Great Britain—being a mass of aboriginal Irish, Spaniards, or Milesians, Danes, Saxons, Normans, English, Scots, Hugonots, and Palantines.

“In such a miscellaneous variety, one might be led to imagine that all national characteristics might be lost, yet no people in Europe seems more distinctly marked, or to bear a stronger original impression. Whether Nature frames and models the disposition of the inhabitants to the soil and climate of the country, or whether the form of government gives a complexion to their manners, it is curious to observe how quickly the various dissimilar parts coalesce and amalgamate into one body.

“The Irish are a strong and hardy people, active in body and of a bold and daring spirit; patient of cold, hunger, and labour; dauntless in danger and regardless of life, when glory is in view; warm and constant in love and friendship, but quick in resentment and implacable in hatred; generous and hospitable beyond all bounds of prudence; credulous, superstitious, and vain; talkative, disputatious, and strongly disposed to turbulence and contest; they are almost all fond of learning, and are endowed with excellent parts, but are usually more remarkable for liveliness of thought than for accurate expression. They possess neither the industry of the English nor the perseverance of the Scots, but when properly directed have displayed spirit and abilities equal to every undertaking.”

Our last description is from an extinct periodical, the “British and Foreign Review,” for October, 1837. “Ireland has been said to be a land of anomalies and contradictions, and certainly a greater contrast could not easily be presented than that which is exhibited between her natural



advantages and the destitution of her people. On the one hand is a soil producing an abundance of almost every thing that constitutes the wealth of a nation, and on the other a population by whose labours that abundance is produced, subsisting on the lowest quality of food by which human life can be sustained. Here we find a great portion of land wanting labour, and there a great portion of labour wanting employment, the export of food increasing with the increase of destitution; towns, formerly insignificant, now rising into commercial prosperity; capital accumulating, and yet the great bulk of the population becoming more impoverished; in a word, the country advancing and the people retrograding.

“The character of the Irish peasant exhibits peculiarities not less paradoxical. He is easily excited, and easily depressed; laborious, without being industrious; ardent, without being persevering; active, yet indolent; instinctively shrewd, yet habitually indiscreet; good natured, yet quarrelsome; in professions far outstripping his performance, and yet without bad faith; with little knowledge and much acuteness, he is proverbially generous, improvident, and brave. It is the axe of the Irish backwoodsman that has opened so many districts of America to the ploughshare; amid the laborious inhabitants of busy England, the work requiring the greatest exertion of human labour and the largest amount of physical endurance falls to his share; wherever enterprise has penetrated, there he is to be found foremost in the work of toil or in the path of danger; it is only at home that he is inert:—the land of his birth dooms him to the destitution of an exile.”

There is perhaps more of useful truth in this character than in any other that has been written upon the subject. The man who would improve Ireland should take it as his text; he should study it, speak from it, act upon it, legislate to it. Strikingly antithetical, it nevertheless defines with accuracy the more pointed inconsistencies of the Irish character, and deserves on that account to be especially prized. For if the country is to prosper, these inconsistencies must be fused and absorbed into some common element of progress. The

extreme difficulty experienced in dealing with natural character does not lie solely in the labour of fostering the good or correcting the bad qualities of a people; but rather the subtle, and often the unsuspected fact that there is a double action at play in the character itself, which works contrary-ways; so that while we are providing for its exigencies by suitable applications in one direction, it is pouring treacherously in upon us in another, and sweeping away the foundations of our hopes and labours.

An anomaly in the Irish character overlooked in these sketches, and yet one most influential in its social effects, is the Irishman's love for saving money as well as spending it. Every one is familiar with the excess of his prodigality and extravagance, while but few have heard of the miserly penuriousness to which he is also prone. The pinching economy frequently practised by the peasants and farmers, and the quantity of money they have been thus able to hoard up in secret, is well known to all those who have studied their cameleon-like modes of life, and have accurately noted their diversities. These accumulations have been kept untouched for years together, even at periods when the miserable economists have actually been in want of food. There are some curious particulars respecting this habit of saving money, and of the extent to which it has for many years proceeded, scattered through the Parliamentary Reports on Banking in Ireland. Amongst the more popular illustrations of it are Mr. Foster's anecdotes of the pawning of bank notes, and Mr. Tidd Pratt's account of the paupers breaking out of the poor-house at Killarney, when a report was spread that the savings-bank was about to break, and that they would lose the deposits they had placed in it.

This trait of character has been turned to account with admirable judgment in the recent law which authorizes the Lord Lieutenant, whenever a murder is committed, to despatch an additional police force to the spot, and levy a rate proportioned to the expense thus occasioned upon the district. No surer preventive of murder in Ireland was ever devised than

that law. It hits the lower orders on their sorest point—the payment of money without the receipt of any perceptible benefit. If enforced with firmness, agrarian assassinations will certainly subside. The pecuniary penalty coming quickly after the offence will prove intolerable to the neighbourhood. The class of persons who, if they have not favoured, have at least contemplated with indifference the commission of certain crimes, will soon adopt another view of them when the consequences are brought home to their own pockets in every instance. In no-law passed for Ireland during a long period has so true a knowledge been evinced of the character of the people, and so profound an appreciation of one of the most absorbing of their peculiarities.

Such then is, and such has been the Irish character for ages. As early as the twelfth century, again in the sixteenth, in the eighteenth, and lastly in the nineteenth, it is attentively studied, and found, after all abatements and qualifications, uniformly distinguished by certain eminent qualities, which, however, invariably disappoint expectation, and have never afforded happiness to the community. It is hardly necessary to add that some deep-seated and strong moving cause must have existed to produce this saddening conclusion, so contradictory to the nature of man, and so repugnant to experience in every other instance: while that remains undiscovered or uncorrected, it is as vain to dream that Ireland can become great and thriving, as to imagine that the Irish have the power of studding the sky with new stars. A debased population and a great nation cannot co-exist. Whatever the mass of the people in a country are that will the country itself be, for the people make the country. If, therefore, we would elevate and improve the one, we must begin by elevating and improving the other. When that has been done we shall not long be left in doubt of the value of the benefits that are sure to flow from it: until it has been done, we have not room to entertain even a hope that things will grow in any respect better, or that our knowledge of the future will be less bitter than our experience of the past.



This correct opinion has been so generally admitted as to be almost common-place. It is one that has grown gradually up; it has been derived purely from observation and reflection, and has become all the stronger the longer it has prevailed. The chief, then, and dearest care of every man who professes to set a value upon the prosperity of Ireland, should be wholly turned to the condition of the great body of the people. In that suggestion lies the ground plan of all our labours; there rests our main, our sole means of strength; there every material and element by which the work of amelioration can be generated or promoted; there must we commence all and finish, before we can place the smallest reliance upon any other efforts we may make, or any other policy we may institute. The labouring classes of a country are to its body politic what the nerves, muscles and sinews are to the human frame; and we know that while these are a prey to chronic disease, health cannot animate, nor strength invigorate the man.

To alter a state of things so inveterate as the condition of the labouring classes in Ireland, we first of all require to know the Irishman intimately, accurately, wholly. There is no character more plastic, no human being more easily moulded to honest purposes; but the manner of the man, and the fit mode of training him to a better condition, must be fully comprehended. The conflicting elements in his character are never to be lost sight of while they exist. The labour without industry, the alternate activity and indolence, the ardour without perseverance, the professions far outstripping performance, the acuteness without knowledge, the great good-nature and constant disposition to quarrel, the instinctive shrewdness and habitual indiscretion, and, although not specified in the general characters here quoted, habits of close and parsimonious covetousness coupled with generous profusion and wasteful extravagance—all these faults and failings must be addressed if we would live creditably amongst the Irishmen who are dependent upon us. Long as the list is, it will not prove formidable if discreetly used. Begin by showing that you have a

good opinion of the mass, and that you confide in them. Let them feel that it is their interest to co-operate with you. You will thus arouse all the better feelings of a nature rich in its resources, and make it an auxiliary in your service. You gratify them, you make them proud of themselves, you put a premium upon their rectitude which will rapidly serve your policy, and greatly enhance in their eyes the virtues you desire to cultivate. The progress of improvement will advance rapidly as soon as it sets in; you will find both the sensibility and apprehension of the Irishman quick beyond description, and you will soon discover that the pupil knows more,\* and learns much faster than you thought possible. Be moderate now and firm; make it still apparent that while they are bettering their own condition, they are not detracting from your superior advantages; teach them chiefly by example, 'tis the noblest virtue a principal can perform in the eyes of an inferior and before God; give them in your own conduct a practical illustration of the lessons you inculcate, and the result you covet will not be so arduous or so slow of attainment as might have been anticipated. But have a care that the terms upon which you deal are just. Upon that point

\* A notion is pretty general in Great Britain that the Irish poor are exceedingly ignorant. But this is by no means the case. If elementary knowledge, or the being able to read, write, and perform ordinary arithmetical operations, be regarded as education, it is more generally diffused in Ireland than in England. "Where in England," asks Mr. Bicheno in his Report on the Poor Laws, "could the Ordnance surveyors find persons amongst the *lowest class* to calculate the sides and areas of their triangles at a halfpenny a triangle, as they do in Ireland, and abundance of them? The Irish are honourably distinguished by their desire to possess information, and by the efforts they have made to acquire it. But, until within these few years, their education was very defective indeed; and the books which were used in schools were not unfrequently of the very worst description. We believe, however, that these have now nearly disappeared; and the school books published by the Kildare Street Society, and the other school books usually met with in Ireland, seem to be not merely equal, but very decidedly superior to most of those used in schools in Great Britain. It is not the ignorance of the people, but their destitute situation, and the violence so frequently done to their feelings and to their sense of justice, that are the grand sources of the crimes and disorders that have so long distracted Ireland."—*M'Culloch's Statistical Account of the British Empire.*

everything turns. This ought to be made to stand prominently forward in all our transactions with the Irish, and yet it is often overlooked. At one moment distress goads, at another enthusiasm carries them away; they engage in great promises and strain with high efforts to better their condition, the moment an encouraging prospect is held out; but if he who holds out the prospect does not make himself sure that the contract, when fulfilled, will leave proper means of subsistence to the party who has to execute it, is it not clear that, far from relieving, it will only reproduce the original evil and prolong its existence in an aggravated form? Is it too much to ask how any man, be his rank high or low, can expect to live himself if he be too proud or too careless to see that those who supply his means shall be themselves supplied also? But it may be asked, who will take all this trouble? A man of fortune and of station does not stoop to such labours as these; enjoyment, and not toil, is his province. To those who indulge in such thoughts there is but one answer to be returned. The sooner they sell their estates the better, for if they are held without regard to the duties attached to their possession they are likely to be lost. On the other hand, we know that the landlord who does discharge the obligations of his station carefully and as a matter of principle finds a good account in the office. Lord George Hill at Gueedore, and Mr. Baron Pennefather in the county of Tipperary, afford, amongst many others, gratifying instances of the complete success with which the standard of the character of an Irish landlord may be elevated.

The condition of life amongst the mass of the people of Ireland is so deeply sunk in distress as to be utterly distasteful as a subject to examine or to describe. With very few exceptions, in the immediate neighbourhood of a few lordly domains, all Irish villages are alike; and a segment taken at random from the suburbs of a single town will faithfully represent a hundred others. In the suburbs the huts are built close together; in the country they are scattered apart. In both they consist of a single chamber; a small patch of land called a potato-garden, and a pig-sty, being generally attached to each cabin. Such is



the residence of 3,466,338 persons, or  $42\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the population of Ireland; and for this wretched accommodation a rent is paid in almost every instance of from £4 to £6 a year. The statements made on this point at page 4, Vol. I., have been fully confirmed by the evidence subsequently given before the Land Commissioners; and also by the inquiry intrusted to Captain Larcom by the Earl of Clarendon, in 1847, and printed by order of the House of Commons in the following year. But although in all these cases certain main facts stand out uniformly in startling proportions, there are others which present material points of difference, and show that but few deductions can be safely drawn from any one source of information. The transition state of the country generally, the vicissitudes of the seasons and the potato crops, and the sweeping havoc so often made by famine and pestilence, are the melancholy incidents that disturb our confidence and disarrange our best calculations.

As we stretch from the village into the country we meet with the hut of that numerous class who support a family upon the cultivation of half an acre, an acre, an acre and a half, or two acres of ground, as the case may be. Here a pigsty and a dungheap are found attached to the cabin. More than one half of the population are occupied from the cradle to the grave in one effort—the attainment of just so much of the commonest food as will barely suffice to sustain existence. This is seldom a laborious, but it is always a most degraded life. Can there be anywhere found a lower standard of humanity? A man obtains a cabin and a patch of ground: possessed of these he has shelter from the inclemency of the weather and the means of procuring food. A rick of turf, generally acquired by little more than his own labour, supplies fire. The necessities of life having been thus provided, he turns to its enjoyment, and taking a wife, becomes the father of a family. The wretched being who thus prepares misery for his old age and his offspring is perhaps to be pitied for his lot; he is ignorant and unguided by anything more than animal instinct. But the landlord and legislator who

look apathetically on scenes and consequences thus sadly prepared and wofully fulfilled, deserve their full share of that future big with woe which they inevitably bring forth.

Next to a wife an Irishman's great desideratum is a pig—the man eats potatoes, and the pig eats the skins; in return the pig pays the rent, and there ends the economy of wretchedness. The wants and desires of more than three millions of the inhabitants of Ireland are expressed in this brief summary; again we ask, can there be anything lower? At one side of the door is the sty for the pig, and at the other a pit of manure for the potato ground. These keep the hovel always damp, filthy, and insalubrious. From the sty to the pit, and from the pit to the cabin, the pig roams at will. When the time arrives for planting the potato the husband plunges into the dungheap and carries it in baskets through the cabin into the ground behind, where his wife and children spread it, often with their hands, and drop the seed in beds which they all help to dig. The produce of this labour constitutes the food of the family. Twice a day the pot is boiled, the potatoes, strained in a basket, are emptied out upon the table, and the family, some seated upon stools, some for want of stools, on stones, and some, where there are not even stones enough, standing, surround the heap, and each helps himself, holding the potato in one hand and peeling off the skin with the fingers of the other. The pot is set down near the table and the pig takes his place near the pot, into which such of the potatoes as prove too bad to be eaten are thrown: thus the pig in the family of the poor Irishman fares like the dog or cat of other households; while they feed, it claims and obtains its mouthful, and when the meal is over the skins are swept from the table into the pot, and the pig's mess is made. The pig, however, often fares better than his master: the pig pays the rent, and as the winter approaches meal and other things are brought to fatten it, while man, wife, and children live still upon the bare potato.

The care of the pig does not end here; it is often the object of attentions which would be well bestowed upon the children

of the family, for it is driven to the pond, washed, and scrubbed clean. That is a sight worth seeing: two lusty fellows, strong enough to contend against a giant, take their stand in the pond with their breeches turned half way up their thighs; they hold in their arms the reluctant object of their cleanly cares, and suddenly plunge it into the water. The work of expiation now proceeds warmly; away they scrub with might and main, and strain their utmost strength to hold the animal fast, now by a leg, now by an ear, until his ablutions have been sufficiently performed. No mean strength and patience are required for this labour—the struggles of the pig to escape and of the men to hold it—the shrill squeaking of the one and the loud shouting of the others—the splashing of the water—the diving of the pig and the ducking of the men create a scene broadly ludicrous, and heightened by nothing more strongly than the very serious expression of countenance which the men preserve throughout the operation. They have evidently made up their minds to the discharge of a grave domestic duty, and they look, all through it, as if it would be a sin against propriety, and most unmanly to laugh at the pig or the performance.

Scenes such as this have been of rare occurrence within the last three years, during which the poor Irish have not had pigs to wash. The grievous extent of their losses and privations in this respect may be clearly estimated by comparing the description, number, and value of the live stock of the whole kingdom given by the Census Commissioners in 1841, and the corresponding data in the report by Captain Larcom already referred to. The particulars furnished by the Census Commissioners have already been given at page 8, Vol. I. Those by Captain Larcom for the year 1847 are therefore added:—

Horses and mules	.	.	.	.	557,917
Asses	.	.	.	.	126,355
Cattle	.	.	.	.	2,591,415
Sheep	.	.	.	.	2,186,177
Pigs	.	.	.	.	622,459
Goats	.	.	.	.	164,043
Poultry	.	.	.	.	5,691,055



showing a decrease in pigs, and poultry, the chief, or rather the sole stock of the small proprietors, to the extent of 787,439 pigs, and 2,756,648 poultry, in the space of six years.

Let us now glance rapidly at a few of the agreeable anomalies which surprise the observers of the Irish cabin and its inmates. The child born in such a condition, and nourished upon the food just described, might be supposed by all, who had not seen him, to be a weak, unhealthy, ill-formed, and repulsive object. But it is directly the reverse; no better-formed, healthier, stronger, handsomer, or happier little creatures are to be found than those that are to be met with playing half-naked upon the earthen floor of the Irish cabin. As they grow up the girls retain their plumpness, and are distinguished by a peculiar archness, which the youths do not retain. Perhaps their dress, such as it is, assists the girls to make the better appearance of the two: the boy, in his father's old coat and breeches, cannot easily contrive to show himself off to advantage so well as the girl in her mother's old cloak, which never requires to fit, and is all the better for being a simpler garb.

As they advance in years, hard work, wherever work is to be obtained, is the heavy portion of both; but it spoils neither the shape nor good looks of the girls, who, in their most ordinary and laborious occupations, are often observed to preserve a graceful air and becoming contour, which would not reflect discredit upon a much higher station of life. Scrutinise a group of Irish girls carrying water from the river or the well, sitting in the market selling apples or eggs, going to milk a cow or returning, and you will be sure to be struck by figures which, abstracted from the tatters in which they appear, exhibit considerable pretensions to beauty. The freedom, ease, and naturalness of their movements will appear the more extraordinary if we consider the very rude labour they perform, and the very heavy weights they are in the habit of carrying.

The transformation which many of these girls undergo on a Sunday is striking. How, with all their poverty, they

contrive to present themselves so well dressed, as they often do at mass, is not very intelligible to a traveller. But such is the fact. Their demeanor in public is very proper—pleasantly mixed with a bashful humour and dashes of sly coquetry, which betray the gay spirit and shrewd intelligence of the Irish character. Young and old they all wear cloaks, made of a napped woollen cloth called ratteen, which is of a firmer texture than that known in England as Bath rug. Spenser has enlarged upon the Irishman's great coat, and invested it with awful properties, making it cover within its ample folds almost every evil human nature can carry about it. But the hooded cloak of the Irish women offers a much more kindred theme for poetical description. The art displayed in adjusting it is considerable, and brings to mind, if we may compare mean things with grand—Irish with Spanish—much that has been related of the mantilla. Sometimes it is thrown back upon the shoulders, leaving in view a frank, lively, open countenance, covered only by the plain borders of a white cap; at another, it is allowed to hang loosely and unstudiedly over a fair round face, with an expression of still and simple innocence that is most engaging; now the fingers appear drawing it closely round the chin, and now it conceals the chin and mouth but leaves the eyes uncovered to betray the laugh, which if disclosed by the lips might prove too significant and provoking to be borne with tame submission.

The early marriage now takes place, and the wife soon begins to feel that the burthens of life are far heavier than she had before imagined. She becomes a mother; cares and sufferings increase at a fearful rate; wherever she moves she has to carry her child on her back, and for this, in point of fact, there is often no help; the mother has to go to market to buy or sell, or to call on the landlord miles off to pay rent, or to make an ill-spured present, and the child is carried on the back to admit of something else being carried in the arms, often to allow the thrifty mother to knit her husband's stockings as she walks along.

Three years, at the utmost, seldom pass over the heads

of a man and his wife, in the state of life now under consideration, without producing, from the damp and penury in which they vegetate, that wasting fever so destructive to human existence in Ireland. This calamity invariably follows an unfruitful season; the little crops have failed, famine desolates the land, fever prostrates the population, they sink in thousands, their destitution is utter; in the city, in the fields, in the public roads they lie down and expire in the face of God and man. Others, unable to pay their rent, are ejected from their miserable holdings, and, for the rest of their lives, are outcasts upon the face of the earth. Often has the ejected family been met grouped together in their misery under the hedge-side to shelter themselves from the wind; the sick husband lying helplessly in his wife's lap; while the child, unconscious of suffering and sorrow, laughs in the face of its dying father, and rejoices in the open air that is sharply hurrying him to another world. In this way it is that Ireland appears in the eye of a stranger to be peopled with mendicants: famine, fever, and excessive rents, rigidly exacted, have pauperised the country to an extent so grievous and formidable that it is astonishing how any portion of the community, in which such absorbing evils exist, can have prospered.

Some attempt to mitigate the wretchedness of these outcasts was made by Parliament, when the Act of 1848 was passed, for the protection and relief of the destitute poor evicted from their dwellings in Ireland. But the number of evictions does not decrease, and nothing as yet has appeared to show that their sufferings have been diminished.

Here again another wonder surprises us, which tells much in favour of the natural goodness of the Irish character. The country is by no means demoralised in proportion to its pauperism; nor does crime pervade the class in which one would naturally expect to find it most abounding. You meet the Irish beggar everywhere, and he is always a disgusting object; dirt and exposure to the air have tarnished his skin to the die of a Bosjesman, and he is nearly as naked; at all hours and in all places, by day and by night, in the coun-



try, in the town, or on the high road, in the street, at the coach-office, at the church, at the chapel, at the feast, and at the funeral, he protrudes himself and pesters—everywhere but at the bar of justice. There he never appears; of the most destitute of all persons in a really impoverished country, more than one crown prosecutor of considerable experience has been known to declare, that he never saw an Irish beggar tried for a criminal offence. In England the statistics of poverty are the statistics of crime, and every sturdy beggar is a hardened culprit; in Ireland the beggar is, comparatively speaking, a venial imposter, treated with confidence by the lower orders, who give him freely all they can spare and seldom find him dishonest. He may be said, in point of fact, to live upon a good character, which he takes care not to forfeit, because, while it is preserved, it helps him to fare better in idleness than many of those, who cheerfully contribute to support him, are able to do by labour.

But although the Irish beggar is not, like the English one, always a rogue, his class contains many disgusting objects, such as were once common but are now never found in England. The class is admirably painted by him who never described anything ill.

“The country gives me proof and precedent  
Of bedlam beggars, who with roaring voices  
Strike in their numbed and mortified arms  
Pins, wooden pricks, nails, sprigs of rosemary,  
And with this horrible object, from low forms  
Sometimes with lunatic hands, sometimes with prayers,  
Enforce their charity.”

It is almost needless to add that this is the worst class of Irish beggars; it is also the one from which you oftenest hear an imprecation. If an humble prayer fails to win the desired succour, these will follow it up with a curse, and indicate in no measured terms their familiarity with the worst propensity of ferocious vice; but they are not types of the whole class.

In point of inoffensiveness and resignation the mass of Irish pauperism is indescribable. It is difficult to imagine

how any thinking beings, depressed and degraded as they are, should neither rebel against society nor take vengeance for their sufferings, but be contented to invoke, intreat, implore,—in the name and on behalf of religion and humanity—for such relief as the better feelings of our nature may prompt us to contribute. In this their eloquence is often warm and touching; they have sonorous voices, and constant exercise, as well as a natural talent for speaking, give them a flow of words and an emphasis which will sometimes make a stranger's blood thrill in his veins. Upon any other country this multitude of beggars would act as a swarm of locusts; in Ireland they grub like snails.

Ten years ago the hope prevailed with many that the operation of the Poor Law would have put a period to the further existence of such a state of things. But that hope was soon dispelled. The few provisions of the Act 1 & 2 Vict. c. 6, which contained the elements\* of efficiency and popular satisfaction, were soon changed, leaving the law with its amendments to be regarded as one of the greatest failures of modern legislation. The number of the poor has not diminished,† while the poor themselves, and every superior interest in the country, stand compactly arrayed against its administration. In truth, opposition to the Poor Law seems destined to form a wonderful exception in the ordinary fortune of all other things in Ireland. It promises the exhibition of unanimity upon the part of the whole community upon one subject at least. Noblemen and gentlemen of all degrees of politics—men of the most moderate opinions and reserved habits—including some of the strongest and oldest sup-

\* The Boards of Guardians elected under the first Poor Law Act were apportioned with some degree of fairness between the tenant farmers, and landlords, and so far worked tolerably well. But the landlords gained the ascendancy upon the first amendment of the Act, and they have as a body ever since done their best to render it abortive.

† The recent famines may be referred to as the cause of this, but there were famines before, particularly in the year 1822. The great blunder of this Poor Law legislation lay in not taking into consideration the almost certain recurrence of such visitations. The finger of experience pointed fixedly to one result, but it did not suit the policy of those who propounded the new law to follow the track of the direction so given them.

porters of Government—landlords who have never been known to write letters to newspapers or deliver public addresses—all have come forward to give utterance to their dissatisfaction with a law which has proved altogether inefficient in its provisions, and been carried into effect with offensive severity and inexcusable expense. While the upper classes denounce it as the instrument of final ruin to their failing rentals, the poor do not receive it as a benefit; on the contrary, they have begun to give characteristic marks of their hostility to its enforcement. Bailiffs who venture to distrain for poor rates have been murdered of late as ferociously as tithe proctors, and their process-servers, used to be decimated of old.

Some, though a very poor, satisfaction, may perhaps be felt by the Irish who have to endure this law when they reflect that from first to last it has been an English experiment exclusively—English in its plan and English in its execution. Whenever the services of an Irishman have been tolerated on this commission, they have been assigned either to subordinate or comparatively inefficient duties, while Englishmen alone have been honoured with the directing authority and the most influential places.\*

Another unwelcome instance has thus been afforded of the folly of attempting to administer the affairs of Ireland without the instrumentality of Irishmen. In all that relates to this law, things have now come to a pass which will enforce an early modification of its abuses. There will be further amendments, but these will be made not because it must be galling and offensive to the Irish, whenever a new institution is to be founded or an old one recast, to find smart and clever English-

\* The Poor Law Act of 1847 instituted a separate Board for Ireland, consisting of three Commissioners nominally, but really of one. Mr. Twiselton is the chief, and the Secretary and Under Secretary for Ireland are the other Commissioners. The two latter are now Irishmen, eminently fitted for any duty which accomplished gentlemen can be expected to perform. But their political offices give them no time to attend to the heavy business of the Poor Law Board. It is, besides, well understood that in all Commissions so constituted, etiquette makes the Chief a dictator. So that, to describe the Poor Law Board in Dublin as an Irish Commission, is an unworthy misrepresentation.



men sent over as the only competent persons to conduct the proposed business: the moving cause of the change will be this—that the law is practically intolerable, and the grievance inflicted by it is no longer an Irish one only, but an imperial one also. For the consolidated fund is now burthened on account of the Irish Poor Law with its wide-spread discontent and wasteful expenditure of the public resources.

A few particulars from the Parliamentary Papers will be enough to show that this account is by no means exaggerated. There are 130 unions, and subdivided into electoral divisions, and there is a poor house in each union. In 35 divisions the boards of guardians have been superseded, and their functions entrusted to paid officers. For the erection of the poor houses, £1,145,800 has been advanced by way of loan from the Exchequer. None of this money has been repaid. When Mr. Nicolls proposed the law, he relied upon a rate of 8*d.* in the pound as being sufficient for the purposes of the act. But the rate of 8*d.*\* has been known to rise as high as 12*s.* in the pound—a sum so large as to be tantamount to an interdict to the cultivation of the land. In short, the working of the measure in pounds, shillings, and pence, according to a return ordered to be printed by the House of Commons, August 28, 1848, discloses the following formidable figures:—

	£
The valuation of Ireland under the Commission is	13,013,663
The total amount of rates made for the year ending March 25, 1848, was	1,719,789
The total amount to be collected during the (coming) year, arrears included, was	1,977,832
And the total amount actually collected for the (past) year, ending as above, was	1,296,476

From another document, the First Report of the Commis-

\* According to a return moved for by Mr. C. Buller in the session of 1848, it appears that the gross annual value of the real property rated to the relief of the poor in England and Wales for the year ending March 25, 1847, was £67,320,587: the expenditure for that year was £5,298,785, which was equal to a rate of 1*s.* 7*d.* in the pound upon the annual value just given—that is to say, 1*s.* 6½*d.* in England, and 1*s.* 11¾*d.* in Wales. The highest rate levied was 2*s.* 4½*d.* in the pound in the county of Buckingham; and the lowest rate was 1*s.* 0½*d.* in the county of Derby.

sioners themselves, we learn that the establishment expenses, exclusive of the cost of the commission itself, amount to 142,913*l.* 5*s.* 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* for 1847; their predecessor, Mr. Nicolls, having estimated the total annual expense for all the purposes of the law at no more than 312,000*l.* a year.

The publication of these and other details of a like kind has obviously inspirited the landlords to redouble their efforts against the maintenance of the law, while it has also added fresh zeal to those who promote counter-expedients—such as emigration and the culture of waste lands—at the public cost. It is impossible to discuss such questions here. There are, however, some observations and tables in the Digest of the Evidence taken before the Land Commissioners, so pointedly instructive, and at the same time so clearly illustrative of what may be held to constitute the means of actual comfort amongst the majority of those whose recent distress has occasioned this vast increase of poor rates, as to render an extract or two both appropriate and satisfactory. The following passages are taken from Part I. of the Digest, page 397.

“Perhaps the most important subject now open for investigation in Ireland is that which we are at present considering, whether the existing distribution of the agricultural population is such as to afford the possibility of their deriving an adequate subsistence for their families; or, if not, what modifications would enable them to accomplish this essential result, upon which their existence and the tranquillity of the country depend?

“The three broad questions to be solved, with this view, are—

“First. What is the quantity of land which will enable its occupier to support his family, when entirely dependent on his own holding?

“Second. What is the number of land-occupiers in Ireland entirely dependent on their own land, whose holdings are below this minimum size?

“Thirdly. What are the unapplied or available means for removing or diminishing the extensive suffering which at present exists, from the disproportion between the wants and the *applied* resources of the population?

“The Commissioners appear to have questioned a vast number of witnesses as to the quantity of land which would support a family; but the answers are for the most part of a vague and inconclusive character, and do not take into account the various considerations essential to the sub-

ject, such as the quality of the land ; its state of preparation by permanent improvements; the nature of the tillage applied ; the degree of intelligence of the occupier ; the size of the family ; and a variety of other points, all of which are essential to this inquiry.

“We find, however, in Appendix No. 15 B, that the form of farm report, with a detailed valuation, established some years since for the guidance and training of the agricultural pupils at Loughash and Cloghan Schools, embraces these particulars; and brings out as one of its results the class of information here required, with a general rule applicable to each case, under any modification that the circumstances demand. The following are the first two and last three columns, taken from the above return, which was tendered as a practical application of this principle. The whole return is given in chapter, Valuation, *infra*.

1 Farm No.	2 No. of Lot in Moore's Survey.	Smallest No. of Statute Acres that would support a family of 5 individuals, and enable them to pay Rent without curtailing their requisite subsistence, &c., supposing them entirely dependent on Farm.			77
		74 By Present Ignorant Occupiers	75 By Intelligent Occupiers	76 By Intelligent Occupiers, if all the requisite, &c.	Proper Course of Cultivation.
1	Part of Lot 1, .	10½	8	6½	5 Course Rotation.
	Part of Lot 2, .	10	8	6¼	5 Course Rotation.
	Farm Buildings, .	—	—	—	
	TOTAL, .				

“Cols. 74, 75, 76.—It is assumed that £5 per head, per annum, is the smallest sum that should be estimated for maintenance, making for a family of five, £25. The sum of the first four columns under each view offered in the return of the cost of cultivation of each lot, shows the proportion of produce applicable to the farmer's own use, being the charge for superintendence ; the charge for labour, which in these small farms is all executed by his own family ; the charge for interest of capital ; and the charge for repairs. The acreable amount of the sum of these four charges being taken as a divisor, and £25 as a dividend, the quotient will be the smallest number of acres that would suffice on this scale.



"We find that in one of those particular qualities of land, ten and a half acres would be required to support a family of five individuals such as the present ignorant occupiers, enabling them to meet all their obligations, and to have a support equal to £25 for themselves; that eight acres of the same land would accomplish the same if the occupier were better instructed in his art; and that six and a quarter acres of the same land would give an equal return to the well instructed occupier if all the requisite permanent improvements were effected on the land.

"We perceive then that no general area can be given as to the quantity of land that would support a family; but that, in the particular case examined, the ordinary defective method of cultivation requires above one-half more land to support the family as compared with what would be necessary if the occupier knew his trade well, and if the land were in an improved state. But in *ordinary land*, the above mode of calculation would lead us to say, that about eight acres, well improved and well managed, would be as safe a minimum average as could be fixed; and would agree with the opinions of a larger number of the witnesses than any other extent that could be suggested.

"Taking this basis for our calculation, and referring to Appendix, No. 95<sup>(2)</sup> (see page 564), we find that there are at present 326,084 occupiers of land (more than one-third of the total number returned in Ireland), whose holdings vary from seven acres to less than one acre; and are, therefore, inadequate to support the families residing upon them.

"In the same table, No. 95<sup>(2)</sup>, page 564, the calculation is put forward, showing that the consolidation of these small holdings, up to eight acres, would require the removal of about 192,368 families, and that the first class of improvable waste land in Ireland would furnish to those removed families locations of about eight acres each; or the first and second qualities of improvable waste land, taken together, would furnish them with locations of about twenty acres each.

"The tables referred to here do not contemplate the modification that this calculation might admit of, as considering the occupiers of those small holdings partly in the capacity of farmers on their own account, and partly as labourers, deriving a portion of their support from extraneous employment by others. Unfortunately the data do not exist to lead to such an analysis, although they might easily be collected through the Poor Law department. At the same time, when it is considered that the professed day labouring class is not included in the tables referred to; that the demand for their services is generally stated in the evidence as being quite inadequate to give them employment, even at the low rate of wages prevalent in most districts; that there are only 141,819 farms returned between 10 and 50 acres, 45,394 between 50 and 100 acres, and 25,037 above 100 acres, there can be very little doubt that the full amount

of relief suggested by the above calculation would be required to place the supply and demand of the labour market upon anything approaching to a healthy state."

How a people—the objects of such speculations as this—distressed in heart, troubled in spirit, and suffering extremely, can possibly be ever cheerful or happy—can not only seek diversion with avidity, but enjoy it with the most spiritual vivacity, is extraordinary, unaccountable, but strictly true. The dances, the wakes, the patterns and fairs of the Irish peasantry are of frequent occurrence, are always fully attended, and they are maintained with a boisterous humour and vigorous excitement, wholly inconceivable by those who have never witnessed such scenes. An Irish wedding, too, is the most mirthful of marriages. Are not these strange phenomena? The most wretched people upon the face of the earth are the fullest of pleasure, and the happiest under its influence. The same Irish air we know is susceptible of the most plaintive and animating expressions; played softly and slowly, it melts into tears; but if we quicken the time and swell the strain, it will arouse a new spirit, and excite agility and exultation to their most stirring movements. Something in the same way it must be that assists the Irish, to whom affliction and suffering have become a sort of second nature, to spring at a single bound from the sluggish depression of want and desolation into the wildest indulgence of unmeasured joy. Perhaps it is the shock his nature undergoes in passing thus suddenly from one extreme to another that makes his pleasure so frantic and often so fatal in its results. No man loves dancing or drinking more than he does; but though very fond of drinking, he is still fonder of dancing. Is it the natural gallantry for which he has always been distinguished that causes this preference, or rather is it that beneath the rough surface of his ill-cultivated nature there lies a rich, warm soil, that quickens far most readily with the propagation of tender passions? Many are the spots in the south of Ireland to which on Sundays and holidays in summer the peasants resort in the evening, where, cheered by the

rough music of some rustic piper, they dance the setting sun down, nor yet tire long after the grey mists of evening, growing deeper and darker, have sunk far into the tranquil hours of night. Sometimes the favourite spot is under the shade of some aged tree by the road-side; at other times in some natural amphitheatre on the hills: it is always more or less romantic in its site, and for generations has been sacred to this Sunday pastime of quickening pipe and tripping foot. There the old people sit to smoke and rival each other in telling over, for the hundredth time, legends of the times of their forefathers, while the young prolong the jig and the reel, dancing simply for the love of dancing, and invigorated and sustained by nothing but exuberant animal spirits—for at these simple recreations there is nothing to drink. A Sunday evening thus spent offers a scene which the humane, if they are wise also, will contemplate with indulgence, for it is the just alternative of labour and recreation that keeps the morality of life wholesome.

Patterns and wakes were originally one and the same sort of recreation, and common to all Catholic countries. In the olden times they were pious exercises; in modern days they have degenerated into profane enjoyments. Perhaps it is because they have lost their primitive character, that they are declining fast and will soon be extinct. There will be nothing to regret in their loss; their decay is a pleasant sign of the progress of improvement throughout the country, for every relic that remains of them exhibits a stage of lingering barbarism and benighted superstition.

The Irish wake, as is rather generally known, is an unmeaning popular custom, by the force of which relatives, friends, and even strangers, assemble round a dead body as soon as it has been laid in its shroud, and lighted candles have been set by its side. Here they sit, and talk, and drink together until the coffin is nailed down, which in Ireland immediately precedes the hour of interment. As it is considered indecorous to leave the dead body without attendants, or to let the lights go out at any time during the interval between death and



burial, some one is constantly on the watch, and as companionship on such occasions is especially agreeable, the inapt festival is kept up without intermission from first to last. The scene touches its climax at night, and a rude, disheartening, reprehensible one it is,—the livid body decked out in its cold white raiments; the black coffin covered with its silver decorations; death's heads and crossed bones intermingled with the chubby faces of angels half smothered in huge wings; the clammy corpse exposed to view; and the unbending severity of death made more rigid and repulsive by the formal manner in which the starched linen grave-clothes are folded and plaited; the steaming crowd of men and women, young and old, squeezed closely together into every form and attitude of compression; the smoky forest of burning pipes; the strong smell of fiery whisky; the heavy murmur of gossiping anecdote; the stealthy intrusion of joke and merriment, checked and broken every now and then by the piercing shrieks of grief, as some incident or scene never to be re-acted, is called acutely back to the mind of the surviving relative: all this, and much more that is indescribable, composes such a feast of horrors as no other country exhibits or could celebrate. There is dancing at a child's wake, but drinking only at an adult's; a child is unstained innocence, and they rejoice at its death, believing that it has returned in its purity to God. However exemplary the life of a grown-up person may have been, it would be presumptuous to rely with confidence in any such case upon a like issue. Hence, the unsubdued hilarity at a child's wake, and the rude and unbecoming admixture of enjoyment and regret at the wake of a grown-up person.

Pattern is a corruption of patron. Amongst the Roman Catholics, patron saints have from remote ages been especially honoured: nations, cities, villages, individuals, all have their patron saints. St. George of England, and St. Denis of France, are no more than fellow patrons with St. Patrick of Ireland. Patterns in Ireland were countless of yore, but as they led invariably to fighting they have very properly been discountenanced of late years, and are now fast de-

creasing. The site is commonly a wild and lonely spring well, the waters of which are reputed to work miraculous cures, and hence it is called the holy well. Some hundreds of these might be enumerated: they are often marked with an aged thorn tree, its thickly woven roots bare on the surface of the soil, its trunk hollow, and its stunted branches dressed in the most genial summer with only a thin and difficult foliage. The thorn tree is held in particular veneration, and the well generally dedicated to some eminent saint. Sainly legends are sure to be related of it, in memory of which it was that stations, or fixed times for offices of penance, with peculiar forms of devotion were instituted at the place. These were the true patterns, and at one period they were held under the auspices of the priest. The superstitious and the invalid were then their common frequenters. They were held for three days consecutively, and a certain number of repetitions of the Lord's Prayer, the Litany, the Hail Mary, and other popular prayers of the Roman Catholic Church were prescribed as formularies of the devotion of the pattern. The penitent generally fasted and prayed on bare knees, and sometimes the difficult operation was resorted to of moving in that position three times at sunrise, and three times at sunset each day, round the gravelled bank of the well; this used to rank as a feat of meritorious penance.

But by degrees these sharp inflictions of painful devotion have fallen into discredit, and the pattern now, some marked and very gross instances excepted, is a public fair for pleasure rather than for piety, but never of business. Tents are set up, pipers and fiddlers attend, beer and whisky flow in copious streams, and the glassy surface of the well, instead of reflecting the serious countenances of the friar and the devotee, glistens to the laughing faces of the publican and the merry-maker. The modern pattern is the chief festival of dancing, drinking, and diversion amongst the country people; courting, singing, gossiping, romping, rioting, and fighting, all prevail at it in their turns; if there be neither aching hearts nor broken heads returning from it, interest, character,

and popularity cease to belong to it. And thus do things degenerate: the venerated patron saint of old has become the modern lord of misrule, and proves a very sad fellow in his cups and gambols; his retreat a place of assignation for hesitating lovers, and a rendezvous for rival factions and hostile cabals, where all are delighted to forget their personal misfortunes, and few are unwilling to fight either for fun or frenzy.

The Irish fair is still a convenient place of business, at which much traffic is carried on. It is perhaps evidence of the backward state of agriculture and trade in the country, that so many fairs should be found requisite. In some towns they are held as often as once a month. As the country becomes more improved there is room to suppose that the demand for, and supply of, its produce will prove steadier than it has been, and that weekly markets will supersede the necessity for numerous fairs. The even prosperity of a country is best served by markets held at regular periods. The purposes for which they are held in Ireland, as in other countries, are various; some are noted for their stock of horned cattle, some for pigs, some for sheep, and others for horses; in many towns linen, and in a few woollen manufactures are their staple commodity. Business is transacted in the morning: some years ago every bargain was struck with a treat of whisky, and the evening closed, as a matter of course, with a general row, in which, after losing the profit of a good sale in dissipation, the farmer and the peasant often disabled themselves from industry for some time to come by the injuries they are so recklessly prone to give and take on such occasions with or without provocation.

The temperance mission of Father Mathew in this, and in many other instances, has greatly mitigated a gross evil. There remains, however, in these patterns and fairs, but particularly in the former, much to condemn and to correct. The drinking and the fighting to which they generally lead involve habitual waste and recklessness. From these there springs a mass of culprits who crowd the bar of criminal justice, and make the administration of the law a more sad-



dening spectacle in Ireland than in any other part of the United Kingdom. This is the more to be regretted, because, in other respects the morality of the people does not appear to suffer from such relaxations. In Ireland, few great vices are generated from popular recreations as in England, where seduction, theft, robbery, and a neglect of religious observances have been so often marked as the sure consequences of fairs and periodical merry-makings.

But the same thing does not happen in Ireland. There scores of men will get drunk, fight, and beat each other savagely until one or two are injured past recovery, and at the next Quarter Sessions half a dozen are tried, condemned, and sentenced to transportation for the offence. Then the mischief stops: a set of drunkards produce it and are punished for it, but the morality of the community to which they belong is not in other respects materially affected. Short of that extreme—before the catastrophe of the pattern is reached—and abating the exchange of death blows which stamp it with guilt, stern and unsocial must the spirit be that can witness the amusement it produces without being amused itself; hard and unfeeling the nature that would not rejoice to see distress, such as the Irish habitually endure, give its heartburning and its groans for an interval to the winds, and once in a way snatch a brief enjoyment from the passing hours to make the monotony of the many sad ones that are to follow it endurable without insanity.

The great cattle fair of Ballinasloe enjoys a national reputation which raises it far above the level of these observations. As an evidence of the extent and progress of the breeding of agricultural live stock, the following tables are valuable:—

NUMBER OF SHEEP AND HORNED CATTLE SOLD AND UNSOLD AT  
THE GREAT OCTOBER FAIRS OF DUNLO OR BALLINASLOE, FROM  
THE YEAR 1790 TO THE YEAR 1848.

YEARS.	SHEEP.			HORNED CATTLE.		
	Sold.	Unsold.	Total.	Sold.	Unsold.	Total.
1790	59,231	2,700	61,931	7,782	850	8,632
1791	64,227	3,000	67,227	6,862	1,300	8,162
1792	61,120	6,911	68,031	6,858	671	7,529
1793	62,272	6,112	68,384	6,695	1,121	7,816
1794	64,580	2,895	67,475	7,106	231	7,337
1795	65,755	2,492	68,247	6,565	1,431	7,996
1796	68,095	2,456	70,551	6,989	300	6,289
1797	66,948	4,300	71,248	5,804	396	6,200
1798	64,700	9,451	74,151	7,931	700	7,631
1799	74,175	3,762	77,937	5,100	4,057	9,957
1800	67,007	3,379	70,836	5,275	2,474	7,749
1801	57,634	21,618	79,252	5,532	4,211	9,743
1802	75,927	8,571	84,498	6,232	3,512	9,744
1803	53,900	33,782	87,682	6,125	539	6,664
1804	78,843	8,621	87,464	5,339	3,462	8,801
1805	79,988	4,366	84,354	7,101	3,003	10,104
1806	64,222	23,171	87,393	5,158	7,032	12,190
1807	76,154	4,808	80,962	6,172	2,396	8,568
1808	80,483	2,316	82,799	7,951	1,376	9,327
1809	75,338	1,610	76,948	7,622	835	8,457
1810	69,481	21,520	91,001	5,331	1,727	7,258
1811	73,420	23,069	96,489	6,592	870	7,462
1812	84,394	2,135	83,529	7,348	2,635	9,983
1813	76,218	870	77,088	8,715	553	9,268
1814	72,678	7,602	80,280	3,748	5,863	9,611
1815	74,658	20,106	94,764	5,632	3,117	8,149
1816	66,283	12,270	78,553	4,209	3,974	8,183
1817	69,330	1,069	70,399	6,378	424	6,802
1818	65,585	5,292	70,877	6,354	3,256	9,610
1819	71,215	7,007	78,222	7,866	1,932	9,738
1820	59,943	20,833	80,776	4,504	4,001	8,505
1821	72,834	10,569	83,400	6,062	1,222	7,284
1822	74,718	15,459	90,177	5,322	3,695	9,017
1823	75,684	20,315	95,999	6,588	4,321	10,909
1824	77,448	6,786	84,234	9,058	1,447	10,505
1825	72,577	17,688	90,265	8,012	2,254	10,266
1826	57,808	36,597	94,405	4,393	3,844	9,240
1827	77,075	14,300	91,375	6,638	1,711	8,349
1828	86,374	11,010	97,384	7,707	3,806	11,513
1829	71,614	14,505	86,119	5,677	3,666	9,343
1830	66,945	14,011	81,556	5,886	1,390	7,276
1831	58,255	3,921	62,176	6,288	981	7,269
1832	58,055	4,999	63,054	6,058	2,072	8,128
1833	51,269	5,143	56,412	6,194	2,576	8,761

NUMBER OF SHEEP AND HORNED CATTLE, ETC.—*continued*.

YEARS.	SHEEP.			HORNED CATTLE.		
	Sold.	Unsold.	Total.	Sold.	Unsold.	Total.
1834	57,810	8,904	66,714	7,521	2,116	9,637
1835	55,119	7,312	62,431	7,142	1,442	8,584
1836	54,162	9,416	63,638	6,117	3,366	9,483
1837	63,219	6,117	69,336	7,735	1,402	9,137
1838	79,583	12,686	92,269	10,686	3,454	14,143
1839	71,822	24,409	96,231	10,774	976	11,750
1840	74,286	16,996	91,282	11,163	1,045	12,208
1841	70,128	7,061	77,189	11,954	2,210	14,164
1842	63,865	12,950	76,815	8,074	6,290	14,364
1843	63,288	1,998	65,286	8,767	1,041	9,108
1844	62,033	8,545	70,578	7,144	3,727	10,871
1845	66,661	2,922	69,583	8,423	1,214	9,637
1846	65,424	10,586	76,010	8,578	2,976	11,552
1847	53,095	27,424	80,519	7,698	2,756	10,454
1848	57,287	9,758	67,045	7,297	865	8,162

Many of the anomalies to be detected in the Irish character have now been adverted to at some length, but the greatest remain to be exposed.

With a population abounding in good qualities, and with that class, namely the beggars, exempt from crime, amongst whom crime might be naturally supposed to be most prolific, Ireland has, nevertheless, unfortunately obtained a dark reputation for deeds of sinister violence and heartless bloodshed. Of this sad and shameful truth there can be no denial. The magnitude of crime in Ireland is enormous, and its character most hideous. Murders the most savage are so frequently perpetrated in that country that the worst possible opinion of the social qualities of the Irish peasant are entertained by a numerous and not always an ill-meaning class of the community of the empire at large. And unquestionably the most distressing feature of the case is to be traced in the extraordinary power it seems to possess of growing every year more terrible still. Odious as were former assassinations, they appear mild in comparison with some of the last we have to deplore, those of the year 1847 for instance. The number of murders recorded at that period, and the atrocity with which



most of them were so revoltingly attended, seemed to mark a community over which religion and its ministers had lost all legitimate influence.

There is nevertheless much reason to question the correctness of many of the opinions broached, even in high quarters, upon the subject of crime in Ireland. Take for instance its first class, murder, and conspiracy to murder. There is no sufficient evidence to show, though there has been incessant and interminable inquiry for the purpose, that any formal conspiracy or systematic organisation exists in Ireland against life and property. There are at the same time strong reasons for presuming that a spirit and a habit of agrarian combination and violence prevail amongst the lower orders, which are ever ready to break forth in startling murders. These agrarian combinations take their rise in a deep-rooted sense of suffering injustice. If the greater crime that follows is not conceived by that sense, it derives from it fit opportunities for concert and execution. These offences, however, appear to be wholly free from political or religious objects, interests, and prejudices. The truth of this last assertion has been established so clearly as to be now admissible as an indisputable fact. How the contrary opinion could ever have prevailed seems strange indeed. For it has all along been manifest, even so far back as the year 1813, that Roman Catholics in religion, and liberals in politics, have fallen under the bullets of these agrarian assassins as commonly as any other persons. Mr. Smyth of Carrick-on-Suir was murdered in the year 1813. He was a Roman Catholic and a liberal politician, and the man who suffered for the crime was also a Roman Catholic. Later still we have Mr. Marum, brother of the Roman Catholic Bishop of that name; Mr. Keefe of Thurles, another Roman Catholic, and at the time of his death the agent to Mr. Maher, late member for Tipperary, the largest Roman Catholic possessor of property in that county, and a liberal subscriber at every election to the fund for returning the popular candidates to Parliament free of expense; and Mr. Scully of Kilfeacle, another Roman Catholic and a whig of

considerable landed property. In all these cases—and unfortunately they present but a few examples from a long, dark roll to which every year adds the names of fresh victims—neither religion nor politics availed to arrest the hand of the murderer.

In some cases, as in that of Major Mahon, we hear of strong incentives to the crime. But how different the circumstances attending the murder of the late Lord Norbury. He unquestionably was a good landlord, a mild and humane man, and popular with his tenantry. But nevertheless, having moved a man from some land, compensating him at the same time liberally for the removal, he is a short time afterwards shot while walking through his own grounds in the middle of the day. As too often happens, there were many people close by at the time, but no effort was made to arrest the murderer, who is believed in the locality to have been no other than the ejected tenant. Upon the whole, and after reviewing with pain the harrowing details of this catalogue of bloodshed, it does appear that the agrarian murders in Ireland are only to be accounted for by taking them to be counterparts of the trades murders, from which England and Scotland have suffered so much. One great member of the social body conceives itself oppressed by another, and conspires to check the progress of the injury by murder. A dearth of employment and of the means of subsistence, or the dread of losing them, is the moving cause of the evil in both countries; and it is but fair to repeat that facts, and the information which to so voluminous an extent has been brought to bear upon the question in Ireland, exhibit no positive or direct evidence whatever to warrant the conclusion that murder in that country is either systematised or generated by political or religious animosities. Wherever found, it is found connected with the great land question, and it is now but too plain that until that has been well adjusted it will be vain to look for the disappearance of its sanguinary attendant.

The general rule, however, has its exceptions. A case is to be found in the evidence taken by the Land Com-

missioners, which seems to point to religious hatred or intolerance as a moving cause of this crime, in one district at least. Mr. Courtenay, agent to Lord Lorton, made the following statement:—*Evidence, Part III.* p. 803.

“ In 1835 I was directed by Lord Lorton to go over the Ballinamuck property, and report the state of the occupying population and of the land ; I found upon some of the land, originally let to one or two tenants, thirty families, and so cut up as scarcely to afford a living to the occupants. The smallest holding was less than an acre. I succeeded, to a considerable extent, in getting the people occupying the small holdings to give up possession, paying them from £5 to £20, with liberty to dispose of everything they had upon the place. I had not occasion to use legal proceedings : they rather evinced an anxiety to go. I gave a farm near Ballinamuck, of about thirty-six acres, to a man of the name of Brock, in May 1835. On the 24th he was murdered. Rewards were offered, amounting to £1500, but without effect—his widow (at a trial of a man charged with the murder) swore that she saw the men who murdered her husband running across the fields, and that she pointed to the people who had assembled, saying that they were the murderers, but they would render no assistance. The farm was composed of many small divisions—the occupiers had agreed to go, and were paid. There was no conviction for the murder. The farm was then given to a man of the name of Dymond ; he was beaten so severely that he was obliged to give it up—seven or eight men were tried, convicted, and transported for this offence. Shortly after, there was a tenant on the same estate murdered, of the name of Moorhead ; and Lord Lorton’s bailiff was fired at three times and at last murdered. William Morrison, who succeeded as bailiff, was also murdered ; the cattle of the tenantry were taken and injured in many ways, but in no instance did the property or persons of the Roman Catholic tenantry suffer any injury, nor were they molested. Brock’s farm was given to a man of the name of Reynolds, a Roman Catholic. In 1838, the last life having dropped, I demanded possession, served ejectments, and on the 4th of April 1839 I went there with the sheriff, and every house in Ballinamuck was levelled that day.”

Unquestionably these are strong circumstances—fortunately they stand by themselves. In many others there are peculiar incidents which are never made public, although well known at the seat of the crime, where they never fail to excite feelings of intense emotion in which sympathy with the offender usually predominates. The following may be taken as an example :—



In the year 1844, Thomas Dowling was convicted at the Tullamore assizes of the murder of Mr. Gatchell. His father, Arthur Dowling, had been for a period of thirty years and upwards the tenant of a small farm of about eight acres near the village of Clonbullock in the King's County. Of this property the deceased Mr. Gatchell had become the agent some five years before, promising, it is said, the landlord not only to compel the tenants to pay their rent punctually, but also to recover some arrears which had accrued in consequence of an unpropitious season and a consequent failure of the crops. To redeem this promise, Gatchell served Arthur Dowling with the usual process in December, 1842, for an arrear due out of his holding, and obtained a decree or judgment for the amount demanded with costs. It appears that *before* this judgment was obtained the usual distress had been put on the lands, and the crop had been seized, and a sale attempted; but there being no bidders, Gatchell himself became the purchaser of a cow, a stock of potatoes, and oats, and other things at a price which, if not merely nominal, was quite disproportioned to the value of the property thus sold. Employing his own horses and carts, he drew this purchase to his own farm-yard at Clonard; and it was because the auction just described did not realize an amount sufficient to cover the arrear due, together with the costs of distress, that the first-mentioned decree or judgment for £7 was executed.

Dowling, who is stated to have passed his 70th year, was now incarcerated in Tullamore jail. At this time his wife, an aged person also, was labouring under severe illness. He entreated Gatchell not to put him in jail, as, if he did, he should never again see his wife alive. He promised earnestly that if allowed to remain with her until she died, for her illness was deemed fatal, he would go to prison without complaint. But the agent was inflexible, and old Dowling was led away weeping bitterly, and sadly protesting that Gatchell had not only beggared him and broken his heart, but destroyed his family. In some short time after his incarceration, one of his sons (a boy of fourteen)

died. This calamity was quickly followed by another; his wife, to whom he had been married for more than thirty years, also died. The last blow nearly broke the old man down. A gentleman, who had frequent occasion to visit the debtor's ward of the prison where he was confined, stated that he always found him in tears. In this state of distress some of his fellow prisoners wrote in his name to Gatchell, as did his own family also, soliciting as a particular favour that he might be permitted to attend the wake and funeral of his wife, two observances to which the Irish are scrupulously attached: unfortunately for all parties this request was sternly refused. On the 4th of May, 1843, Gatchell was shot, while driving in his gig at Clonkeen, in the King's County, about the hour of five o'clock in the evening, and on the public highroad. Dowling's son was quickly taken up and convicted of the murder upon the oath of an approver, whose evidence as to the identity of the actual murderer was not corroborated. Young Dowling protested his innocence in the most emphatic manner, but strange to say, although the history of the case, as here related, was fully set forth in the *sworn informations* of one of the Crown witnesses, (a police constable named Montgomery,) not a word of it was disclosed at the trial. The solicitor for the defence of the prisoner instructed his counsel to suppress the entire facts, dreading, and not unreasonably, that if once stated they might be construed into so many almost irresistible incentives to the commission of the offence with which the prisoner was charged. The Crown prosecutor on the other side adopted the same course from a different policy; his fear being lest the jury, if fully acquainted with the case, might commiserate the prisoner, and, yielding to a consideration of the provocation he had received, might pronounce a verdict of not guilty. Thus the public at large were left in ignorance of the real character and true nature of the charge; but these were fully known throughout the country, and they deserve to be recorded, because, although they by no means justify the crime committed, they are unfortunately not of singular concurrence, but types of a class of

cases frequently recurring, and sure to win the sympathy of the peasantry for kindred deeds.

Unfortunately the number of those in Ireland is considerable whose circumstances are so bad as to be incapable of being rendered worse. These men pursue mischief and violence like a fate. In them the ready spirit of agrarian excess is fostered by a kindred tendency to secret associations. These again are wide-spread and highly relished by persons of some means and substance. They were generated many years ago in periods of rude oppression now fortunately extinct. They have been transmitted like an inheritance of wrong from father to son, as a part of that large loose volume of dark traditions which the people have always been passionately attached to. There is no task more arduous than the correction of feelings and propensities such as those here referred to. They have sprung up on the household hearth and have been trained to take hold of men's minds and insert themselves roughly and strongly into the more retentive parts of their natures. The seat thus taken is all but immovable.

It is also to be remembered how long the time has lasted, in Ireland, during which the great men of the country—the fierce soldier-landowners who won their estates and retained them by force of arms—were in the frequent habit of removing from their path, by violence, any person possessing obnoxious rights or inconvenient pretensions. Illiterate as the Irish peasant is, he has a copious fund of oral knowledge, of old as well as modern times, and of the deeds which make them both memorable. The spirit which that knowledge is calculated to beget requires no explanation, and it is not difficult to conceive how men who are powerfully affected by it should be easily susceptible of deeds of blood, without having been systematically prepared for crime by the horrid process of an established school, and perpetual conspiracy for the taking away of human life. Nor should it be forgotten of this, the darkest trait in his character, that the Irish peasant has had for many years, and almost within our own days, the very worst example constantly set before his eyes, upon this



point, in the habits of his superiors in station, education, and fortune. It is but of late years that duelling has ceased to form an essential part of the accomplishments of an Irish gentleman. Even Grattan,—a man whose moral worth was fully equal to the superiority of his genius and his unrivalled integrity as a Patriot—even he, when preparing himself for public life, found it necessary to repeat two exercises daily—the one in oratory, the other in the practice of “shoot-ing with a pistol.” Now all these things have their separate influences, and they are all to be borne clearly in mind, when a judgment of unmitigated severity is demanded against the Irish peasant. Punished he should be for actual crime, but let us take care, for the future at least, that he shall not always be ill-taught, and have a bad example constantly before his eyes.

It is only by those who have thoroughly studied the character and habits of the Irish peasant that some of the views here taken of the one and the other, can be fairly or justly reviewed. In all countries the prevalence of discontent naturally begets combined efforts to remove the cause of suffering and chastise the instruments of its infliction. In proportion, as the object itself, or the means proposed to accomplish it, is perilous, the combination becomes secret, and once it is secret it is almost sure to become criminal. There is much in the Irish character, and much in the nature of past as well as current events, to favour associations of this description in Ireland. The Irishman has a natural love and relish for things vague, mysterious, and solemn. The majority of the people have, moreover, for a very long period lived under the conviction that they are injured and oppressed—that the law of the land does not, nor was it intended to, afford them justice—that it has made them and means to keep them a degraded and excluded race. For upwards of a century the upper classes have been constantly associating for the redress of some one loudly proclaimed grievance or another. Before the union and since the union the country has always been agitated by some complaining body or other. Mr.

Smith O'Brien and Mr. Meagher were preceded by Mr. O'Connell and Mr. Sheil, and Mr. O'Connell and Sheil were preceded by Grattan and Flood. The torrent of remonstrant oratory has never ceased to flow—the reclamations of stated injustice have been repeated in undying echoes—and the effect produced upon the lower orders has corresponded with the intensity and duration of the clamour constantly maintained by the upper classes for the removal of disabilities and the redress of grievances. Such an example could not be lost. What is more, one government after the other, for years past, has been admitting that there are grievances to redress, and regretting that they remain unredressed. Where then is the wonder? The poor and ignorant have emulated, after their own rude fashion, the course which has given distinction and success to the rich and instructed. They, too, have had their combinations, and in leaguings together have pressed on step by step from one crime to another. It is in this way only, with the monster grievance of the land question as its main incentive, that the existence of that wide-spread combination is to be accounted for which has for some length of time existed under the name of Ribandism. The prevalence of this offence has engaged the anxious attention of successive governments, and been repeatedly the subject of parliamentary investigation. It appears to take its rise from a habit, common almost from time immemorial amongst the lower ranks of the Roman Catholic population, of congregating together in secret for vague and undefined purposes. In what they call bad times—seasons of agricultural or monetary distress, and during periods when the law happened to be severely enforced—the exigency of the particular occasion would impart a distinct aim and object to the assembly. In towns, strikes for higher wages, and agreements to assault and beat those who were content to work for less than the standard of the society would thus derive their origin; and so, in the country, would organizations against the payment of tithes and old arrears of rent, and conspiracies against persons taking land from which defaulting tenants had been ejected.

It is impossible to conceive anything more inconsistent, more contradictory, or more ludicrous than the descriptions given of Ribandism and Ribandmen. Some of the most respectable and intelligent men in Ireland have been examined respecting them, but although their knowledge of the country has been great, and their experience has been exactly of the kind that may be supposed the most likely and best calculated to supply correct and positive information, and sure means of arriving concurrently at a sound and satisfactory conclusion upon any given subject; yet no two of them appear to think alike, or to have an opinion in common respecting these societies. There is scarcely a man of any reputation in Ireland who will dispute the existence of the body, but not one who can describe its nature and objects. It is now some years since Lord Roden undertook to establish by formal proof, not only the existence of a general conspiracy under the name of Ribandism against life and property, but also the sworn aims of the members. His Lordship began this Herculean task in the session of 1835, and ended it in the session of 1839, but notwithstanding the number and respectability of the witnesses adduced, their testimony became positively ludicrous by the sheer force of the contradictory accounts they gave of the subject. For instance, the printed evidence as to Ribandism itself, and what it is, affords the following information :—

8660. Mr. Gale says, it is very hard for me to state what I understand by Ribandism.

619. Major Warburton says, there is the greatest possible difficulty in getting at the nature of it; and I should be much puzzled indeed to give any description of it.

“14,539. Sir William Somerville.—What the exact nature of Ribandism is, I am unable to state.

“14,681. The system I take to be an undefined system upon which it is impossible for any one to lay his finger.

“14,539. It is one of those systems at the root of which it is impossible to arrive.

“6769. Mr. Kemmis.—I cannot say what is understood by it.

“4676. Mr. Plunkett.—I can't exactly explain what I mean by it.



"12,740. Mr. Thomkins Brew.—I never knew what it actually was.

"7514. Mr. Barrington.—I hardly know what it is.

"8734. Mr. Hickman.—With respect to the word Ribandism I can't well understand what it means.

"7788. Mr. Tierney.—What the meaning of Ribandism is, I do not know.

"7738. I cannot state its particular character.

"7739. "I don't know anything distinctly upon the subject, except that I believe the term Ribandism is applied to, or is connected with, illegal societies called Riband societies, which are supposed to exist in different parts of my circuit.

"11,656. Mr. Green.—I have read a great deal about it in the newspapers, but don't know what it is.

"10,780. Mr. Cahill.—I don't know any thing of Ribandism.

"3994. Capt. Vignoles.—I know very little of what is called the Riband Society.

"11,806. Mr. Barnes.—I have most determinately pursued an inquiry into the nature of the Riband Society, and given money to several individuals for private information upon the subject, but I never was able to make out anything more than that such a society exists.

"1621. Col. M'Gregor.—I have had reports of the meetings and passwords of the Ribandmen given me, but could make nothing of them.

"1618.—The information given to our officers upon the subject has been very vague, and I don't think anything specific has been communicated to anybody upon the subject.

"4753. Mr. M. O'Ferrall.—Ribandism was a secret society, bound together by an oath, which he states to be the only definition which will include all varieties of Ribandism."

This evidence having made it appear rather clearly that no one could tell what Ribandism was, an attempt was next made to discover what it was like.

"5006. Major Brown says, the system is of the same nature as Whitefootism.

"2861. Mr. Halton says, Ribandism and Whitefootism are totally disconnected.

"10,236. Mr. Seed says, it is the same as Blackfootism.

"14,448. Mr. Rathbone says, it is the same as Terry Altism.

"9408. Captain Warburton says, it is the same as Rockiteism.

"14,539. Sir William Somerville says that Ribandism is in Meath something like a trades union.

"14,792. Mr. Ford says, what is called Ribandism in Meath is in the nature of a combination of trades.

"8430-1. Mr. Barrington says, that Ribandmen are the same as Whiteboys.

"3611. Captain Vignoles says, they are the same as the Peep-of-day-Boys."

Inquiries were then made as to the extent to which Ribandism prevailed, but the result was in no respect more definite or satisfactory.

"5077. Major Brown thinks it does not exist in the South, where the great bulk of the population is Roman Catholic.

"5091. Nor in the North, where the great proportion of the population is Protestant.

"5095. But only where the population is divided between both sects.

"6557. Mr. Uniacke says, he is very intimate with the county of Cork, and knows that Ribandism is very common there and in all the South of Ireland.

"Mr. Barrington, Crown Solicitor of the Munster Circuit.—I never could trace upon my circuit such a society as Ribandism is described to be, and I believe no such societies have existed there during my time.—7540-1.

"6566. Mr. Uniacke says, I am sure of its existence in Tipperary.

"631. Major Warburton.—I have received reports declaring it to exist in Tipperary, certainly.

"2848. Mr. Hatton.—I never could get any clue to the existence of Ribandism in Tipperary.

"6596. Mr. Wetherall is a magistrate of Tipperary, and never heard it doubted for a moment that the secret combination called the Riband Society existed there."\*

\* All these quotations are taken from a small volume, entitled, *Abstract of Evidence upon Crime in Ireland, 1839*, by David Leahy, Esq., Barrister-at-Law,—one of the most pointed things of the kind ever published. For power of condensation and logical arrangement of matter, its force is irresistibly strong. Mr. Leahy died prematurely in the year 1847. Born near Newcastle, in the county of Limerick, where his family were respectable farmers, he made his way to Trinity College, Dublin, and graduated there as a sizar. Pushing on to London, he became connected with the newspaper press, and a student at law. After having been called to the Bar, he was made common-law reporter to the *Times* newspaper, and was occasionally admitted to the honour of writing leading matter for that powerful journal. Subsequently he was a frequent contributor to the *Morning Chronicle* while Sir J. Easthope was its proprietor. The *Dublin Review* and other periodicals received numerous articles from him. Having been one of the counsel for the celebrated writ of O'Connell against the Queen in Error, he edited Lord Denman's Judgment in that case, and in the year

After reading this evidence one feels disposed to scout the existence of Ribandism as an absurdity. But the highest class of official persons in Ireland will not allow us to disbelieve the main fact itself.

"13,961. Mr. Drummond says, there are societies, secret and illegal, rudely organized, and in some instances communicating with each other; they have pass-words and oaths and divine precepts, but when the police come upon them they find no books or list of names—sometimes passwords.

"4998-9. Major Brown says, he has no doubt of their holding quarterly meetings, but there was no use in going there, as the police would only find the Ribandmen sitting as their lordships were sitting then.

"2206. An organization so rude, and yet so efficient for its purposes, carries upon its face something ridiculous, but I know from its effects that it is extremely serious.

"4810. Mr. O'Ferral says, I do not consider that Ribandism is under one head, or working for any particular and definite purpose.

"4928. I don't think there is one sole association; I think there are a number of societies, and that they act locally for combination purposes.

"4758. I don't think they have any central head, nor any general object.

"They have existed since —22, and although a most efficient police and the most active magistrates have been employed, with ample means at their command to procure information, yet, notwithstanding all their exertions and rewards we know no more of Ribandism now than we did then; and, although the societies have been in full weekly action during that time, they never have attempted anything but local objects. If they had been one body, or acting with an object, I think it impossible but that we should have found them out before.

following produced, upon the subject generally, an octavo volume, entitled "A Review of the Principal Facts connected with the recent State Trials in Ireland." In point of fact Ireland was the only subject he cared to write upon. He thought, read and talked—in a word, seemed to live only for the exposition and application of truth and justice in Irish affairs. Many Irish patriots have enjoyed more popularity, few were better informed, none more disinterested. No Irishman of his day entertained sounder views, or was more zealous, sincere, pure, or effective in the maintenance and enforcement of his opinions. Nevertheless, his success, whether in literature or law, was not considerable; and, as he advanced in years, a morbid feeling of being ill treated, and much consequent discontent soured his temper and marred some of his highest aspirations. At length, fortune seemed about to smile upon him. Upon the establishment of the New County Courts, Lord Cottenham made him Judge of the Southwark district. But he did not live to preside in it: death seized him while the architect was fitting up the seat which, unfortunately, he was destined never to occupy.



“4759. My colleague, Major Brown, who has had very great experience in all parts of Ireland, is exactly of the same opinion.

Mr. Drummond, who evidently took a much clearer view of this matter than most others, stated:—

“13,317. With regard to the promoters of it, they are nearly all publicans—publicans of a very low class and of a very bad character. All the meetings are held in the houses of publicans, to whom regular quarterly payments are made; nor is any account returned of the money so received—as to this, all our information agrees. We have proof that these societies are got up and promoted by a class of men who have a very obvious interest in so doing; they not only receive money by way of quarterly payments from the members, but, as publicans, they have a further advantage in their houses being constantly frequented by them. These publicans appear to keep up a sort of connection one with another; and, in order to maintain their influence more securely, affect a certain degree of mystery; they give out that they are under some high and nameless authority, and that leaders will be forthcoming when the time is ripe, who will ensure the restoration of the forfeited estates, and such other objects as the lowest and most needy commonly look to as the results to be desired from political changes. Their uniform advice, however, of which they never lose sight, is that, for the present, all that can be done is to increase their numbers. Their object is, manifestly, to keep up a delusion amongst the ignorant, and to conceal their real motive, which is nothing more or less than to raise money. The promoters of the system are knaves, and the members their dupes. All the information laid before Government tends to confirm this opinion; and such is the conclusion I have come to from an examination of the whole of the evidence. A different conclusion may, of course, be drawn by the others from the same data.”

Mr. Drummond on this occasion might have gone further, and placed amongst the most active promoters of Ribandism, a set of fellows too well known to him, and almost to every man in Ireland, as “spies and informers.” The ranks of that body have furnished from time to time some of the most specious and consummate villains that have ever committed outrage on society. It is impossible to view the course of events in Ireland—to notice the number of spies and informers who appear in the service of the Government, and to mark the large sums of money paid to such persons, without feeling that liberal rewards may be obtained in that country for the orga-

nisation of illegal societies, and the demoralisation of the lower orders. There is evidence upon evidence, and too painfully unexceptionable to shew that it has been the established practice in Ireland during a long series of years, to maintain at the public expense a body of clever scoundrels for the purpose of detecting crime and furnishing the requisite proofs for punishing it. The minister at the Castle of Dublin, and the magistrates and police throughout the country, have all been in the habit of retaining this vile corps in their pay. The sums of money thus lavishly expended would appear incredible but for the information of public officers, who, while confessing to this worst of corruptions, establish to a frightful extent how odious is the character, and how worthless are the disclosures, of their creatures.

“I remember,” said Sir Robert Peel on one occasion in the House of Commons, “the murder of Mr. Baker, during the time of my official connection with Ireland. A reward was offered for information, and an accomplice came forward, who had not, indeed, fired the shot, but who had concocted the whole scheme. He gave evidence against five others of the party who were convicted. He was paid £2000 for his treachery, and he actually instituted or threatened proceedings against the Government for not giving him £4000.”

Few instances in the local history of the country have excited more sensation than the Doneraile conspiracy, as it was termed, in the year 1829. Yet that affair, if not altogether contrived, was, in all probability, fostered, maintained, and ripened by a spy who admitted on the trial that he had been retained during a series of years in the pay of the county magistrates, for the purpose of discovering offenders and disclosing agrarian misdoings to the authorities. This was his mode of living—he was hired to roam the country daily like a bloodhound, and as his wages depended upon his discoveries, who can doubt that when crime failed to fall in his way, he instigated or invented its commission?

The despicable character of the Irish informer was described in vivid colours to the Roden Committee, already mentioned,

by Mr. Drummond, and yet, strange to say, the practice of employing informers in the service of the Government never appears to have prevailed to a greater extent than it did during the time that gentleman was in office. The stipendiary magistrates, acting upon his instructions, "spared neither pains nor money in the discovery of guilt, and the sums then offered for information were more tempting than on former occasions." \*

After all this and much more, which it is unnecessary to particularise, had been attempted, Mr. Drummond indicates the results of his experience in the following observations:—

"Large rewards tend to depreciate the value of evidence. Lord Normanby carried the practice to a greater extent than any preceding government—18,384. Persons sworn to keep the secrets of a society, and who commit perjury for money would have no great objection to swear to the truth of their statements if their names were to be kept secret, and they were not required to prosecute publicly—a condition which has, in fact, been insisted upon by almost every one of them—15,928. Of course, we cannot bring an informer into court when he makes a condition of secrecy. But that condition itself, when he knows he will be amply rewarded if he speaks truth, and on the other hand transported if convicted of perjury, is in itself a strong presumption of falsehood"—13,962.

The length to which Mr. Drummond himself was prepared to go upon this matter has been well summed up in Mr. Leahy's Abstract, 30-1.

"13,288. One informer conditioned that he was not to be required to communicate with any police magistrate, but must see Mr. Drummond alone, in secret, and at night; he mentioned several outrages, which he said were concocted at the meetings which he attended; he was asked to prove his accuracy by information, previous to the commission, as the outrages were committed almost daily, but from the beginning to the end of the connection, he never gave such information in a single instance, neither has any such information been given, by any one of all the informers throughout the country."

\* The further evidence of Messrs. Warburton, Tracy and Barnes, 11,089, 4455-6, 11,808, is well worth consulting upon this point, though too much for insertion here.



Another informer was seen by Mr. Drummond from day to day without any result whatever: he said he was intimately acquainted with the persons who committed the outrages against Mr. Guinness, which were of daily occurrence, and he repeatedly promised to give such information as would lead to their apprehension, but he never in any instance gave a particle of that information, nor any which would enable the authorities to anticipate an outrage, although he was constantly in receipt of money: his information was a mere statement of the names of persons alleged by him to be members of those associations.

“His first statement was, that he wanted no money until he had given information; he next asked for payment of his expenses, and received from £5 to £10 at a time.”

He then set up a public house, which he kept in a very disorderly manner; he had become a bankrupt, and was still in the pay of the Dublin police! His information had led to no practical result—he had never given the means of testing his statements in any way—he had made a stipulation, that he should not be called on to prosecute, saying that he would not prosecute for the wealth of the Bank of Ireland.

They offered to send him to America and make his condition much better than at present, but still he would not come forward. There were three other informers from different quarters, but their information has not been of the smallest value. While the Under-Secretary led the way in this style, the Commissioners of Police in Dublin followed in the track as a matter of course. Mr. O’Ferrall told the Committee:

“4671. My informant brought me bits of intelligence, but none of any consequence or furnishing any thing tangible. One, a pedlar, promised, if he got money, to go to the North, to Belfast, where it was most prevalent, and to let me know all about it. He got the money, and came to me after his tour, but I could get nothing out of him. There was another, but I had no confidence in him neither, who was continually coming with bits of intelligence. He got a great deal of money, and at last I said I should not be satisfied unless he gave me some tangible evidence. But he was never able to give it.

The same witness adds :—

“Nor do I expect that any better information will be procured. Although I have expended a great deal of money upon my inquiries.—4766, 4767.

“It always struck me that my informants were looking for money, and that I was, to a great extent, imposed upon.”

The work did not stop here—we find £100 placed in the hands of Mr. Rowan to procure information. It is shown—13,290—that an informer obtained £30 on the same gentleman’s recommendation, to find a man in a Dublin brewery—but the man was not found, and the police declared that nothing was known of such a person. Mr. Barnes gives an account of another fellow of this class—13,296. As a policeman he was discharged for misconduct. Although a Protestant he went to mass with the view of joining the Ribandmen and betraying their secrets, which, however, he did not do, although paid £15 for the purpose. He then declared himself one of the murderers of Morrison, Lord Lorton’s steward, and offered to become approver if he got the reward which had been promised ; but, as Mr. Barnes, being the stipendiary magistrate of that neighbourhood, knew every individual who was present at the murder, he knew the statement by ——— of his own participation in it to be a lie, and dismissed him. The fellow then passed into the service of Captain Warburton, but Mr. Barnes expresses his decided opinion that the statements made by ——— to the Captain were all pure invention. Mr. Barnes adds, that of all the information given by ———, not one word ever turned out to be true, and he was at that moment in Longford Jail.

“13,296. Captain Warburton says, If the statements of this informer should be false, it is melancholy to think that such a monster should be in existence.”

The finishing touch to the character of this class of villains is given in the answer to question 13,982, p. 27.

“Of the separate informants who have given information about the

drilling of the peasantry, five have been already transported for perjury committed in that information. In no one case has the informant been able to support his statement. Three persons have informed in Lord Norbury's case, and of these two have been transported for perjury, and the third is now in jail awaiting his trial."

Startling as these disclosures were, they seemed to have made no deep impression upon the Irish public or officials. The evidence given before Lord Roden's Committee was in general circulation during the year 1839. Five years afterwards we find spies and informers still serving the Irish police as of old, and maintaining undiminished their established reputation for heartless villany by instigating the very crimes they were paid to discover. The subject was brought under the notice of the House of Commons during the session of 1844, by Mr. More O'Ferrall, who dwelt emphatically upon two strong cases. The first referred to a prosecution instituted at Armagh in July 1843, by Mr. Blackburne, then Attorney-General, now Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench. The approver was named D. Hagan, and a conviction was obtained on his evidence. He told the jury that, having been accused and arrested himself the year before, he offered to give certain information, and for that he was, after a short interval, liberated from prison. He proceeded to say, that after having obtained his liberty he went amongst the people, made Ribandmen by hundreds—attended Riband meetings—concocted with his own hands upwards of sixty Riband documents, and has acted, since his liberation from prison, *under the direction of the magistrates!* Cox, a policeman, stood forward as the next witness. He swore that he had attended a Riband meeting disguised in plain clothes, and identified the prisoners at the bar as persons present on that occasion; they were convicted, but can there be a doubt that they were seduced by a villain, whose settled object was *to make criminals*, as Mr. Justice Crampton observed in his charge to the jury, and who acted, as he himself boasted, under the directions of the magistrates and with the aid of the police?



The other case mentioned by Mr. More O'Ferrall occurred before Mr. Baron Richards, at the Sligo Assizes, in the same year:—Two men were prosecuted for having taken unlawful oaths, and the principal evidence against them was an approver, who confessed that he was employed by the police; and that he had been paid £15 by them in the matter of that prosecution. Mr. Sheil during the same debate denounced to the House a similar occurrence in the town of Kilkenny, where a person high in the constabulary had engaged a policeman to go to a printer and induce him to print a seditious placard, in order that a charge might be founded upon it against an unfortunate man who was obnoxious to the force. The O'Connor Don followed with fresh cases.—An informer of the name of Kean had come forward at Sligo as a crown witness, who first swore that he supported himself by his labour, but admitted on cross-examination that he had been paid various sums of money at different times for information given to the police, and finally that he was entirely supported by that force. The crown lawyers threw up that case in despair, if not in disgust, but it turned out afterwards that two other men had been previously transported upon the evidence of this villain. The last case particularized by the O'Connor Don was an attempt to shoot the Rev. Mr. Day in Roscommon: there the fellow who had fired the shot turned out to have been an old informer, and on this occasion no doubt intended to inculcate innocent persons, while he established his own value and importance with the police.

A series of enormities such as those here referred to require no comment: the conviction which they should carry home to the mind ought to be immediate, and so conclusive as to render their recurrence impossible. But in Ireland the natural course of things is seldom to be relied upon. Proverbs, elsewhere uniformly true, there meet with many exceptions. In that country the discovery of an evil is far from being always half its cure; nor is the acknowledgment of a wrong done always a step taken on the road to redress or reparation. Statesmen succeed statesmen in office, and all concur in

repudiating the infamous practice of resorting to spies and informers: the practice, nevertheless, is not abandoned. Lord Normanby's government, in 1839, seems to have been duly impressed with a sense of the folly, if not the criminality of retaining such hateful instruments of power; and yet we find them produced in Court under the government of Sir Robert Peel, in 1843, as if their efficacy had never been questioned, and their iniquities never exposed. So too, in 1848: spies and informers again figure prominently in the proceedings of criminal justice during that melancholy year. How often is complaint made of the want of moral tone and manly bearing in the character of the Irish peasantry; yet how seldom is allowance made, at the same time, for the depressing influence which this base system must have upon his habits of life and modes of thinking! But it will be said he conspires—aye, so he does—and how difficult the task of convincing him that there is guilt in his conspiracy, while he is smarting under the consequences of the combination formed against his peace, his liberty, and his life by the united labours of the spy, the police, and the justice of the peace! We are often struck with astonishment at the utter want of moral feeling revealed in the exposures of Irish crime; yet how seldom do we reflect that the Irish rustic never hears of crime, or of a conspiracy to commit it, without the aid of a participator in the guilt who is in the pay of Government, and goes free of punishment or even rebuke.

The aspect of Irish life, just examined, exhibits a picture lurid with horrors; but there is another view to be taken of it, representing the peasantry in that better light which there is good reason to suppose is their true character. When a landlord or land-agent in Ireland lays down a fair principle of dealing with the tenantry, and condescends to show them, practically, that as the owner of the soil looks to them for the observance of their part of the obligation entered into, so they may rely upon no excess of authority upon his side, he becomes, it seems, in almost every instance complete master of his estate, and carries his tenantry with him, to a man, in all

his projects, even to ejectment itself. An instance or two in point is worth recording.

Some years ago a portion of Lord Hawarden's estate, in the county of Tipperary, became so impoverished by the density of the population settled upon it, that the proprietor saw no alternative between ruin and the establishment of a new system altogether. The tenants were already impoverished to the lowest point; arrears of rent had been due for years; and the question that pressed upon him was,—Am I to do nothing and be ruined also? In this extremity he took the proper course: he placed the estate in the hands of an eminent Scotch agent, and it is now one of the most profitable in the county. The agent, a man of original talent and great decision of character, plunged into the midst of the difficulty at once. He went to the bounds of the estate, where eighty-nine persons had been subsisting on twenty-one acres of land: in the thick of this colony he took up his abode. They had paid no rent for some time because the produce of the land did not yield as many potatoes as would give them sufficient food. He entered a cabin, told the inhabitants who he was, and said that he meant to spend a few days with them. They expressed their gladness, but added that they had only potatoes to eat and straw to lie on; to what they had he was welcome, and they only wished it was better for his sake. He thanked them, and surprised them by saying that he supposed he could live as they lived if he chose, and that he came to try the experiment. He did try it; he spent days with those poor people, ate potatoes with them, slept upon the straw, gained their confidence, proved to them that their abject poverty was produced by their increased numbers, while there was no increase in the quantity of land they cultivated or its productiveness; and in the end he succeeded in removing every one of them from the spot, and letting the whole twenty-one acres to a single farmer without disturbance or complaint. That single farmer was, in the year 1844, a man in comfortable circumstances.



The following is a wayfaring anecdote, but worth telling,—The present Earl Fortescue, travelling up to London from the West of England, a short time before his appointment to the office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, fell by accident for a few hours into company with three strangers. The conversation turned upon Ireland, its wretched condition and the lawless habits of the people. Lord Fortescue having been asked his opinion gave a short statement, which is worth publishing, not solely on account of the rank of the person making it, but because it contained the experience of an Irish landlord who, in the management of his Irish estates, has always pursued the course he follows on his English property. “I can only speak of Ireland,” said his Lordship, “as I have found it, and I have not found it so bad a country as I have heard it described. I have been in the habit of visiting, year after year, a property in that country; and have slept with the windows open at night when life and property were reported to be unsafe in it. But I was never attacked or threatened. On one occasion a threatening notice was posted up in the parish church and remained there for some days. At last I went and pulled it down myself; the notice was not repeated, nor was the threat carried into execution. Nor have I found it difficult or dangerous to eject a tenant when I found it necessary. A case of this kind occurred lately:—A man fell into arrears, upon my estate; he was spoken to without effect; a second year passed on in this way and then I said it was time to act; this man cannot be permitted to go on paying nothing. His rent was no higher than his neighbours’, and he had been allowed reasonable indulgence. He was ejected, but I never heard of any breach of the peace or murmuring in consequence.”

These two instances are related from among many others for this additional reason,—the first landlord was a high Tory—Lord Fortescue, as it is well known, is a staunch Whig. Lord Fortescue’s language deserves particular attention: it was the quiet testimony of an English nobleman, who has

been publicly described, upon first visiting his Irish property, to have found it a wilderness, and to have covered it with comfortable farms.\* This, no doubt, was a consequence of the knowledge he possessed of a strong and simple truth—that the interest of a tenant and the interest of his landlord are inseparable. He believed that the effect to be produced by applying the rules and conditions of good sense to the management of an Irish estate is as certain and agreeable as if the experiment had to be tried in England; and the result approved his confidence and his judgment. Nor is this a solitary case. Lord Fortescue's estate is by no means the only one upon which the same observations are to be made. The estates of the Duke of Devonshire and Mr. Lane Fox, in the same county—of Lord Stanley in the county of Tipperary, of the Marquis of Lansdowne in Kerry, of the Earl Fitzwilliam in the county of Wicklow, of Lord Palmerston in Sligo—together with several others, furnish the same results, and go far to raise a presumption of what has not been generally supposed to be the truth—that the great English proprietors, many of them absentees, are the best landlords in Ireland.

With the example of these large estates before our eyes, it is no longer prudent to assert that landed property in Ireland is not a safe and profitable investment for capital. Everything depends upon the treatment of the tenantry. In nine cases out of ten the landlord has the game in his own hands: as he deals the cards he wins or loses. At the same time occasional outrages will occur; but these, if not specially provoked, will yield to firm conduct. We may apprehend that a man means to wrong us, but we should never let him see that we fear him. On the contrary, the true policy is, to show him that we are determined not to be diverted from the discharge of our duty; if, as sometimes happens, the lurking foe meditates violence, he will, when thus resisted, ere long abandon his project. By way of proving the soundness of this advice, a short narrative

\* Speech of the Mayor of Waterford on taking the chair at a public meeting to congratulate Lord Fortescue upon his arrival at Summerville, his cottage, in the county of Waterford.

given in his own words, by the proprietor of some slate-quarries in the South of Ireland, may be aptly quoted.

“I once received a letter stating that a person, who should be nameless, had offered the writer three half-crowns and a pint of whiskey to take my life—but that the offer was rejected, as the writer and his friends had sworn to take my life without fee or reward. As soon as I got this letter I determined how to act. I knew that it originated in a notion that I meant to take an adjoining quarry, and that by having all the business of the neighbourhood in my own hands I should command the price of labour, and thus eventually lower wages. I knew, too, that with the lower order of the Irish there is nothing more likely to defeat a danger than to face it as if you did not fear it, and I also knew that placing the real truth plainly before the people seldom fails to produce the desired effect. So I hinted my plans to one or two of my neighbours, and giving out that I had received a letter from Newfoundland that might probably interest some of them, I called them all together for the next day. They met, and after conjecturing for a time together, as I expected they would, what my object was, they became somewhat anxious and excited. Perceiving that, I went out to them.

“‘Here is a letter,’ I said, holding it up, ‘and I wish to read it publicly, in order that you may all know what is sure to follow if what is here threatened should happen to take place;’ and I then read the letter through slowly and in a firm voice, and when I had concluded I went on—‘Now boys,’ said I, ‘we have had some murders hereabouts, and we hear of many more, and it is likely enough if ye take it into your heads that some one or other of ye may shoot me. What ye can make by that, as I never carry money on my person, I can’t tell—but before ye do it I think it would be as well for ye to look out and see if ye are likely to find a better man to come and take my place when I am gone. Because, ye see, it may be that ye will be the greatest sufferers; there will not be much encouragement given to others to come and take my place; and, if there’s nobody to go on with these works there will be no wages for some time to come for any of you. More than that, the writer of this letter is now standing before me. I’m looking at him this moment, but I won’t name him; I’ll tell you, however, what I have done. I’ve left his name in writing where it will be found if I am murdered; and so sure as anything happens to me, so sure half-a-dozen of ye at least will hang for it, while the rest of ye will be left starving without work or wages. Now boys, there’s the case before us, and I’d just wish ye to turn it over in your minds, and consider amongst yourselves, whether it will answer your own purposes to put the threat which this letter contains into execution.’

“That was my speech,” said the quarry-owner. “When it was con-



cluded I stood still, waiting to see if any one would attempt an answer. But not a word was spoken. They went away quietly, and I never received a second anonymous letter, nor from that day to this was I ever once attacked or threatened."

These are instances of the facility with which the best measures are to be carried, if the proper degrees of knowledge, firmness, and moderation accompany the undertaking. With these, and the recent demonstration of the Temperance movement before our eyes, there certainly appears no reason to despair of the progressive improvement of the Irish peasant. The efficacy of the change wrought by Father Mathew in the worst of his habits affords matter of the most encouraging interest. Some ten years or so have now passed since a few members of the Society of Friends—and they form the most useful and benevolent body of men in Ireland—made the first attempt to found a Total Abstinence Society in Cork. Failing of success, but not the less confident of the importance or the practicability of their design, they sought the aid of the Rev. Theobald Mathew, Provincial of the Franciscan Friars, whose influence over the lower orders of people in Cork had always been considerable, and begged of him to take the cause into his own hands. The overture is said to have been received with courtesy, but not with cordiality; and when, after some persuasion, the humane Franciscan was induced to undertake this novel mission, he was animated, we are told, by no very sanguine expectations of success. When proposing to begin with the establishment of a Temperance Society in Cork, he thought he should do well if, by the end of the year, he mustered about 500 members. But he was not aware how well timed to the wants of the people was the labour then proposed to be applied to their relief; nor was he aware how deeply the sense of their degeneracy was felt by the people themselves, or how lively was their desire to spring from the slough of vice, and stand clean and upright in the face of society. At the end of the first year his numbers amounted, not to 500, but to 7000; and they rose still rapidly increasing until they reached half a million in the year

1839. By the third year of this interesting movement, three millions of persons had pledged themselves to the rules it enjoined for leading a life of temperance.

This movement is one of the most striking, significant, and satisfactory of modern times. A whole population, obedient to the pious solicitation of a simple friar, fall down on their knees in the public streets, and renounce, before heaven and the world, a debasing vice. They carry away with them the friar's blessing, and an approving conscience to strengthen them in the keeping of their pledge, and these suffice for the purpose.\* And they will still suffice. The temper of the people, the exigencies of their condition, and the salutary effects produced by the improvement, are the sure guarantees of its continuance. We have only to glance at the other changes which have taken place of late years in the condition of the mass of the Irish people to be satisfied that this one will be maintained. They have ceased to appear as a distinct and disqualified caste; they have commanded the exercise of political rights in a manner new and far more independent than a short time ago they could have believed possible; they have seen steam navigation quickening and stimulating agriculture and commerce all round the coast; they have felt themselves rising in the scale of society, and heard the public voice in all directions sympathising aloud with their remaining grievances, and emphatically demanding their removal. Under these circumstances the humblest Irishman must have taken up a fresh idea of his own value, and have felt himself impelled to offer some public test or demonstration of the sense growing within him of acquired superiority. But that, while he continued a drunkard, would always be impossible. Intoxication reduces all grades and minds to the same low level, and there con-

\* The following is the form of Father Mathew's pledge:—I promise so long as I shall continue a member of the Teetotal Temperance Society to abstain from all intoxicating liquors, unless recommended for medical purposes, and to discourage by all means in my power the practice of intoxication in others.—After this has been repeated Father Mathew passes from person to person, and making the sign of the cross on the forehead, repeats the usual form of Roman Catholic blessing: I bless thee in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Amen.

founds them. Consideration in society, which an Irishman prizes infinitely, was thus unattainable; and long before good Father Mathew appeared, the Irishman must have had a longing desire urging upon his heart the abandonment of so vile a habit, and freedom from the enslaving bonds that prevented him from enjoying the full and undisputed reputation of being a regenerated individual.

We have now had the experience of some ten years or so to aid us in forming an opinion of the temperance movement, and the general deduction appears to be quite in favour of its continued progress. The first enthusiasm has been spent, the society can no longer hope to be universal, nor to gather votaries at the original rate; but the inveteracy of the old habit has been destroyed, and we have a right to calculate upon the force of the new and better one that has been elevated in its stead. Many a pledge, no doubt, has been, and many will be broken; whisky and porter will still be drunk by numbers. At the same time many men are and many will be true to their pledge and lead a moral life. The better class of farmers and tradesmen thus cease to be common public-house drunkards. They are withdrawn, to a certain extent, from nightly broils; and are no longer exposed to the risk of being hurried, in a state of frenzy, from the public house to a faction fight,—from the faction fight to the county jail,—and from the county jail to Botany Bay. Rescued, for the future, from the danger of being dragged into this whirlpool of ruin, the Irishman will find that he has a legitimate claim to a distinct grade in society, and he will maintain and improve the claim because he will not be slow to discover that by so doing he will add to his fortune while he gratifies his pride.

From all these different details—they have been entered upon too lengthily, perhaps, and minutely—we may see plainly enough that in Ireland we have to cultivate not the soil only, but the peasant; and that ascending still higher in the social scale we have also to reform the character of the landlord.



The latter will not prove a light labour. He has to be taught, and, if the word is permissible, he has to be untaught much of what he has hitherto learned and acted on. The protection thrown by the law over property in land—how far wisely or not is a question not to be resolved here—has led the generality of landlords to imagine that they move in a charmed circle and are exempt from the ordinary toils and cares of human life. There are, no doubt, amongst them men who possess large estates and corresponding intelligence, men who, fully understanding the true nature of their position, fulfil with honour the duties attached to it. But too many of them betray palpable ignorance of the relations by which they stand connected with the rest of the community, and seem to live as if they were unconscious of the obligations imposed upon them. This evil is sensibly aggravated by the number of those, who, though possessed of only small estates in land, will make no effort to better their condition by following some other respectable avocation. It is a lamentable thing to see such men always engaged in the pleasures, and never in the business of life. In England, incomes of £300, £500, and even £1000 a year derived from land are considered by men of good birth and spirit as little more than an outfit, and the means of living respectably during that interval of probation which every one who devotes himself to a profession or to commerce knows he must pass through, as through an ordeal, before the ripe period of his career can be attained, and the foundations of a fortune can be raised. But in Ireland nine men out of ten possessed of the stated incomes will look upon themselves as independent country gentlemen, and disdain the pursuits of commerce, or the labours of a profession, as impertinence and degradation. Such men are not to be saved from insolvency and ruin.

It cannot, therefore, be too plainly asserted, or too often repeated, that there are certain natural laws, superior in their force to all legislation, by which property in land, and every other description of property are equally governed and regulated. Legislation may impart to property in land especial privileges and immunities, and these may render the posses-

sion of land to a certain extent more permanent and secure than property of another kind. But property in land to be productive in the same ratio with other properties must be made to fulfil the same conditions and be subject to the practical application of such principles as generate and determine their common value. Men may wilfully shut their eyes to the light of this truth, but they cannot escape from its consequences. The air we breathe in is not a more essential element of animal life than is this an inalienable portion of our social system.

It is then as absurd as it is false to pretend that there is anything in the position or the privileges of a landlord which can make him superior to the merchant or the manufacturer, upon the ground that he is no trafficker or barterer, or that mercenary considerations do not enter into the calculations of his economy and his mode of attaining the means of living as they do into those of other persons. The management of an estate is as much a matter of business, and agriculture is as much a trade, as any other to which human beings can apply their industry. Whether a man possesses the fee of 100, or 1000, or 10,000 acres of land, he draws from that estate his means of living by the same process as does the merchant who imports 1000 bales of silk or cotton, or the manufacturer who works them into useful commodities. In each of these cases there is buying and selling, and there is the investment of capital and labour for the sake of gain, and accordingly as that gain is secured, the different parties are found to estimate their respective transactions as good or bad—a profit or loss. Each has his capital invested in a particular property, and the value of the investment, or in other words the sum furnished from it as means of living to the proprietor, must always depend upon the degree in which other persons may happen to want or to desire the article which it was the object of the investment to produce, and also upon the extent to which labour and skill have been employed in bringing the produce itself to market. The landlord, therefore, who fancies that he derives from the nature of his property any real advantages

over the merchant or the manufacturer, or any exemption from the duties to which they are bound, deludes himself with an error which is sure to lead him into difficulties, and very likely in the end to leave him without any property whatever.

Here, then, the whole case has been gone through: we see that the owner and the tenant of the soil have their respective reforms to carry, and that no common efforts will be required from them both for that purpose. The remedial measures to be looked for from the legislature have already been adverted to, Vol. II. p. 442. Steps have already been taken to put some of those in action—to what extent will presently be noticed. Assuming for them a fair degree of progress; assuming the poor-law to be administered with temperate firmness upon the principles there stated; assuming compensation to be secured to tenants for suitable and permanent improvements; assuming the old tenures of land to be abolished, and the Encumbered Estates Bill to work with even moderate efficiency; assuming simple forms of lease, established for convenient periods; private exertion would then have to supply its share of the general reform somewhat as follows:—

A new and better description of land-agent should be appointed. At present, and for a long time past, the agents employed by Irish landlords in the collection of their rents and the management of their estates have been chiefly of three classes. The one most frequently to be met with is the younger son of some decayed or struggling country gentleman. He has been in the army or militia, and has retired on half-pay. This service has sharpened his wit and somewhat refined his manners. He has acquired his knowledge of land by attempting to cultivate a farm and failing in the attempt. But the style of Captain, and his manners, have procured him a certain degree of distinction in society; his military habits of command suggest the idea that he possesses nerve and decision of character, and he is reputed a shrewd and clever fellow, often on no better grounds than that he has always



“lived like a gentleman,” as the saying is, without having any ostensible property. Out of these qualities the idea gradually arises that he would make a capital agent, being just the sort of person to manage a refractory tenantry, to get in arrears of rent, to go through all the rough work of an embarrassed entail, and preserve some degree of subordination amongst the creditors and tenants, while he extracts for the landlord at least the means of subsisting as he struggles through a condition of general confusion. An agent he accordingly becomes, and the landlord’s lottery is played out.

Attorneys are frequently met with as land-agents : so much law is required in the management of a good estate, while on a bad one the law-costs form so large an item of expense, that many landlords appoint attorneys to be their agents as an economical expedient to save money. The bargain struck in such cases is commonly this :—the attorney takes his percentage or a fixed salary, as may be agreed upon, and gives his professional services whenever they may be required by the landlord, without charging more for them than costs out of pocket. This for him is an excellent bargain ; for while he is paid by the landlord as an agent, he is paid by the tenant, or other party implicated, his costs as an attorney for all law proceedings relating to the estate. In one event only—that of a verdict or judgment against the landlord—does he lose the full amount of his professional costs, and even then he gets back “costs out of pocket.” The degree of substantial improvement likely to be introduced on an estate managed by an attorney is obviously not considerable.

The third class of land-agents consists of the professed estate-agents residing in Dublin. These are men of character and property, who follow their business upon an extended scale. They maintain large offices ; act, in some instances, for numerous proprietors ; and receive annually a large amount of rent in different parts of the country. Their private resources, and the money constantly passing through their hands, render them convenient to absentees and persons in embarrassed circumstances. As money has seldom been lost by their miscon-

duct or failure in business, they are highly prized. Residing in Dublin, they seldom visit the estates committed to their care, except as the gales of rent fall due, and they are thus to be considered rather as rent-brokers, or bankers, than as managers and improvers of property in land.

To these classes of land-agents another perhaps ought to be added, consisting of the receivers appointed by the Courts of Chancery and Exchequer, to collect rents when estates become the subject-matter of suits in Equity. It appears that 1000 different properties are thus involved, the rental of which amounts to a sum of £700,000 a year, or about one-twentieth of the total rental of the country. This system of estate management appears to be bad in the extreme: the landlord is rarely extricated from his difficulties, while the condition of the tenant becomes worse than under any other circumstances. The weight of the evidence upon this subject given before the Land Commissioners decidedly tends to show that estates "under the Courts," as the term is, rapidly deteriorate, and that the population upon them is almost sure to become disorganized and unmanageable.

A statistical table or two will tend to confirm this opinion.

"Summary of Returns, supplied from the Registrar's Office of the Court of Chancery, of Estates on which Receivers accounted to the Court of Chancery in Ireland, during the years 1841, 1842, and 1843, ending 31st December in each year.

	1841.	1842.	1843.	Average of Three Years.
No. of Causes	598	595	764	652
Description of Property { Lands	623	542	652	610
Houses	73	51	91	72
Rental of Estates	£ s. d. 598,635 13 10½	£ s. d. 548,783 12 9	£ s. d. 563,022 2 4	£ s. d. 570,147 2 11½
Arrears of Rent when Receiver was appointed	39,358 16 4½	3,105 0 10	39,265 13 1	27,243 3 5
" " When Receiver last accounted	347,226 14 10	299,554 10 8	290,292 4 10	312,357 16 10
Gross amount of Costs paid by Receiver since his Appointment, as allowed in his Account	25,529 8 4	15,357 2 5	19,741 10 0½	20,209 6 11

“ Summary of Returns, supplied from the Chief Remembrancer’s Office, of Estates on which Receivers have been appointed under the Court of Exchequer in Ireland, during eight years, from 1836 to 1843, inclusive.

No. of Causes . . . . .	316
Description of Property—	
Lands . . . . .	287
Houses . . . . .	29
Rental of Estates . . . . .	£ 132,675   s. 2   d. 3
Arrears of Rent—	
„   „   When Receiver was appointed,	56,163   6   6
„   „   When Receiver last accounted,	87,849   0   11½
Gross amount of Costs paid by Receiver since his Appointment, as allowed in his Account .	9,906   0   11½

The character of all the classes of Irish land-agents is thus nearly the same; they are little more than rent-collectors, and should be made to give place to a new and better description of persons. The charges falling to the care of a land-agent are too important to be entrusted to any one who has not been professionally educated for the office. The collection of rent is the least difficult of his duties, the chief one is the production of the rent. A good land-agent should understand the best mode of treating land practically and scientifically. In no one else will the skill and information be found united which are necessary to turn the lands to the best account.

In vain will the landlord contribute capital, if the agent does not know how to apply it. It is his business to test by comparative experiments, the best systems and processes of cultivation;—to adapt to the different soils the rotation of crops and courses of culture best suited to each;—to frame the proper covenants between landlord and tenant under the changing circumstances to which their common interests are so frequently exposed;—after an unpropitious season or a general failure of crops to apportion those equitable allowances which the intimate relations of the parties affected render expedient. No decayed country gentleman—no half-pay officer—no attor-



ney—no rent-collector living in Dublin, can adequately discharge these onerous duties. They demand residence on the spot, constant superintendence, and the daily care of one who has been bred to the operations of agriculture, and fails not to increase his knowledge by a course of regular study and experiment.

Prudence, moreover, will demand on every estate a system of improvement peculiar to its own circumstances. Whatever may be the amount of his rental, every landlord should lay aside a certain per-centage yearly, as a fund for improvements. This per-centage should never be less than five per cent. ; and every seven years a general survey of the estate should be made by some professed agriculturist, who should be engaged from a distance, and equally disconnected from and disinterested in the past and future management of the property. In his report, showing the results produced by the last series of improvements, and suggesting the course best suited for adoption during the coming period of seven years, the landlord and his resident agent would possess a body of information of which they could hardly fail to make a profitable use.

Land so treated would yield both in quantity and quality much more than it now does—much more probably than the most sanguine expectations would venture to anticipate. For we know that in Ireland agriculture is only beginning to be practised as a system or a science. Land there is not, in point of fact, half cultivated. Every practical farmer from England or Scotland who visits the country proclaims this opinion loudly. We know moreover that the value of land in Ireland has increased considerably of late years, notwithstanding the palpable neglect exhibited by almost every interest connected with its cultivation. We are thus justified in assuming that the transition from a state of agriculture confessedly defective, to one eminently good, would necessarily evolve results the most liberal and beneficial.

The evidence adduced before the Roden Committee, to prove the growing value of landed property in Ireland, was

of the most conclusive description, as the following extracts will show :—

MR. W. W. SIMPSON stated that “he had sold between the years 1834 and 1839 £500,000 worth of land in Ireland, of which £71,000 was bought in, he had valued besides an estate at £218,000 for the purpose of mortgage, making altogether £700,000 or £800,000 worth of property valued by him. He stated it to be the results of his experience, that investments in Irish land are considered secure and eligible. He valued and sold estates in England to an immense amount in nineteen different counties, and could sell Irish quite as well as English estates. He sold property in Tipperary for 36½ years’ purchase to the late Mr. Wyse of Cork.”—Evidence, 14,716, *et infra*.

MR. DREW ATKINS, CORK.—“Has superintended during the preceding fifteen years, sales of land in value about £20,000, and purchases in value about £200,000 (in fee simple or an estate equal to a fee), usually sold fifteen years ago for 16½ to 18 years’ purchase; ten years ago from 18 to 20 years’ purchase; five years ago from 20 years’ purchase; at present from 22 to 23½ is required, and 21 and 22 given freely.”

MESSRS. J. AND J. BLAKENEY, SOLICITORS, GALWAY.—“Fifteen years ago, and from thence till within the last five years, land in the county and neighbourhood of Galway was invariably valued at 20 years’ purchase. Since the latter period, land has been progressively advancing in value, and on an average now rates at 25 years’ purchase; in some instances 27 has been obtained.”

MR., NOW SIR MATTHEW BARRINGTON, BART.—“In the south, fifteen years ago, 17 to 19 years’ purchase; ten years ago, 19 years’ purchase; five years ago, 20 years’ purchase. At present land sells higher, though a damp has been thrown on it by a dread of the repeal of the Corn Laws, and the uncertainty as to the operation of the Poor Law; in the north, land has always sold higher than in the south or west.”

MESSRS. BOYLE, LOW, PIM AND CO., BANKERS, DUBLIN.—“Fifteen years ago, 20 to 22½ years; at present, 25. In the more favoured counties the purchase at present would amount to 30 years; in the disturbed districts 18 to 20 years.”

MR. H. BRUCE, DUBLIN.—“A gradual increase during the last fifteen years all over Ireland. In the counties of Dublin, Armagh, Louth, Down, Antrim, Carlow, Wicklow, Wexford, Fermanagh, and some parts of Tyrone, Derry, Monaghan, Longford and Cavan, the value of estates has increased from 3 to 4 years’ purchase within the last fifteen years generally; about three-quarters of the increase has taken place within the last ten years; and of this one-fourth in the last five years in several of the coun-

ties. At present well-circumstanced estates in the most valuable counties would bring from 28 to 30 years' purchase. In Down, 32 to 33 years, which is equal to the average value of fee-simple property in the best parts of England. In Wexford, estates have been generally sold from 25 to 28 years' purchase. In other parts, where the increase has been from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  years' purchase, the present value is from 22 to 25 years, and in the remaining counties, from 20 to 22 years.

"For the last ten years there has been considerable competition at all sales of estates well circumstanced, and they have generally sold high; but in some distant localities, and especially disturbed districts, very low."

MR. DOBBIN, ARMAGH.—"Fifteen years ago, 20 years' purchase, now 25, and some have even gone for 30 years' purchase."

MR. R. S. GUINNESS, ESTATE AGENT, DUBLIN.—"In the year 1821, and until towards 1827,  $16\frac{3}{4}$  years' purchase; from 1827 to 1837, 20 years' purchase; in 1837 and since, 25 years' purchase. An estate fairly let on leases, not at rack rent, and yielding £1000 per annum, would have sold fifteen years ago, for £16,666 13s. 4d.; ten years ago for £18,000; five years ago for £20,000; at present £25,000."

MESSRS. MACCAUSLAND AND FETHERSTON, SOLICITORS, DUBLIN.—"Fifteen years ago, 16 years; ten years ago, 16 to 18 years; five years ago and to the present time, 18 to 23 years. Lands in the north sell higher than elsewhere; and very well-circumstanced estates now bring from 23 to 30 years' purchase."

MESSRS. PIERCE, MAHONY AND CO., SOLICITORS, DUBLIN.—"From 1815 to 1824 (in the South, say Cork, Kerry and Limerick),  $16\frac{3}{4}$  years; about fifteen years ago, 17 to 19 years; ten years ago, nearly the same; scarcely any advance till about two years ago; at present 22 years' purchase on the full or rack-rent value."

MESSRS. STEWART AND KINCAID, ESTATE AGENTS, DUBLIN.—"Lands to be let to occupying tenants will bring higher rents now than they would have brought a few years ago, but there is not any material change in the rates of purchase."

"The rates of purchase of fee-simple estates vary from 18 to 28 years, being much higher in the north than elsewhere. Persons making permanent investments of money in landed property, are much less influenced by the temporary changes in the condition of particular districts, or by the public measures of different political parties in the state, than is generally supposed."

MR. C. S. TANDY, SOLICITOR, WATERFORD.—"Fifteen years ago land averaged from 18 to 20 years' purchase, at present 22 to 24 years. The increase has been in the rate of purchase and not in the price. An estate sold at 17 years' purchase twenty-five years ago, would have brought more money than it would now produce at 24 years' purchase."



Mr. Drummond, the Under-Secretary, who collected this information, added some further details, which throw a strong light upon the subject generally. He pointed to steam navigation as the leading cause of this great improvement. The readiness of communication with Liverpool had given a great stimulus to production and to trade, and as a matter of course had added to the value of the fee simple of land. The demand for produce from Ireland had been very much increased in the preceding years, and the necessary effect had been to give a stimulus to agriculture. He proceeded to reconcile the misery of the great mass of the population with his views of the improvement of the landed property of the country, by explaining that, although there were undoubted proofs of a large increase in the commercial transactions and internal traffic of the country, and of the consumption of articles indicating improved habits of life, yet the information he had acquired led to the conclusion that the condition of the labouring people had not partaken of that improvement. This fact he said was not susceptible of proof by actual returns or statistical documents. The only way in which he could arrive at any conclusion upon it, was by the examination of persons extensively acquainted with the condition and habits of the people, and the result appeared to be, that the condition of the labouring poor had not partaken of the improvement observable in other classes of the community, and that in some respects it had even deteriorated. He dated the period of deterioration from the preceding ten years, and went on to say :—

“I think that Ireland at the present moment may be regarded as almost in a state of transition. The subdivision of land no longer proceeds as heretofore; it is now checked, and a contrary process is taking place by the enlargement and consolidation of farms, while the population which depends upon the land alone for support is still increasing. The demand for land is consequently and of necessity greater than it was before, while there is a decrease in the supply of it, arising from the consolidation of farms.

“I think that an adequate cause for the deterioration observable in the condition of the labouring poor. In a former answer I alluded to that

circumstance with reference to the state of crime, showing that a great proportion of the violent infractions of the law that have been prevalent proceeded from this class ; and that, so long as from any cause there is increasing destitution, there will, as a matter of course, be increasing crime, which can be checked only by main force."

The value of this evidence has been severely tested since it was given ; but in every instance experience has ratified its correctness. The unparalleled destitution beginning in the year 1846, and even as yet not terminated, was marked by the commission of crimes, in point of number and enormity, greater than had before afflicted the country. The consequent disorganization of society, more recently aggravated by an unwise administration of the poor law, together with a multitude of attendant circumstances—almost every one of which had a disturbing influence upon the healthful action of the social state—have combined to render that most melancholy interval, from the close of the year 1845 to the beginning of 1849, an exception to all that has preceded, and it is hoped also, to all that is destined to follow in the history of the country. But trying as that interval has proved, and changeful as the condition of the different classes of society has appeared during its course, nothing has occurred throughout the general wreck of life, substance, and property which in any degree contradicts or materially qualifies the general conclusions drawn from previous experience. Like all other calamities, the severity of the recent affliction will gradually pass away, plenty and health will invigorate the land and its people again ; and a glad future may be confidently anticipated. If this era should be enlivened by a prompt concession of the obvious amendments so imperatively demanded in the state of the law affecting the subject-matter of this chapter, and a juster administration at all times of the actual law, much better guarantees for enduring prosperity will be supplied than the Irishman ever as yet has been permitted to count upon.

The progress of our recent legislation towards this most desirable consummation remains to be summed up. The Land Commission issued by Sir Robert Peel in November, 1843,

made its report in February, 1845 ; and various Acts of Parliament have already been passed for the purpose of carrying out the recommendations of the Commissioners, and benefiting the country by the encouragement of operations which these inquiries showed to be important. Amongst these are chiefly to be noted :—

1. The Reduction of the Duty on Glass.

2. The Acts for the Improvement of Landed Property in Ireland ; as for instance, the Act 9 & 10 Vict. c. 101, by which one million was authorized to be lent for drainage in Ireland, repayment of the money being spread over twenty-two years, at an interest of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. ; and the Act 10 & 11 Vict. c. 32, by which the amount of money to be lent was raised to £1,500,000, and various facilities for a more extended operation of the law were afforded ; and the Act 11 & 12 Vict. c. 51, to provide additional funds for loans, for drainage, and other works of public utility in Ireland.

3. Exempting the Counties from all payments on account of the Constabulary, and transferring the charge, amounting to £192,000, to the Consolidated Fund.

4. The Act 9 & 10 Vict. c. 111, amending the Law of Distress and Ejectment.

5. The reduction of the Stamp Duty on Leases in Ireland.

6. The improved regulations in the Offices for Registering Deeds and Judgments affecting Landed Property, by which the expense of making out titles to land has been materially reduced.

7. The Act 11 & 12 Vict. c. 48, for facilitating the Sale of Encumbered Estates in Ireland.

Without wishing in any respect to detract from the merit—and in parts it is considerable—of these legislative labours, it is impossible to refrain from observing that their main tendency lies in the old direction. The good done, or sought to be done, is chiefly to the landlord: the tenant comes in for the smallest and the least valuable share of the benefit. The principle uniformly contended for in these pages aims at a different point. To regenerate Ireland the work must con-



mence at the foundations of society—that is, with the common people. From them it may proceed upwards and succeed : retouching the Corinthian pillars is a waste of time and money. As yet, therefore, it is but too plain that our laws for Ireland, however improved of late years, fall far short of the degree of perfection which will avail to wipe out the foul blot exposed by the late Lord Clare, when he averred that “in Ireland it is easy for a landlord of straw to grind into powder a tenant of steel.’

## CHAPTER XVII.

## RELIGION AND ITS ESTABLISHMENTS.

ANCIENT TRACES OF RELIGION IN IRELAND.—FIRE-WORSHIPPERS.—  
 DRUIDS.—PELAGIUS.—PALLADIUS.—ST. PATRICK AND HIS WORKS.  
 —ALLEGED POINTS OF DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE WORSHIP OF  
 THE ANCIENT IRISH CHURCH AND THE CHURCH OF ROME.—THE  
 POPE'S SUPREMACY AND THE CELIBACY OF THE CLERGY.—RAPID  
 DIFFUSION OF CHRISTIANITY IN IRELAND.—EARLY POWER OF THE  
 CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN IRELAND.—ST. MALACHY.—TWO PARTIES  
 IN THE IRISH CHURCH, ENGLISH AND NATIVE, CONSEQUENT UPON  
 THE INVASION.—THE CROWN OBTAINS THE PATRONAGE OF THE  
 IRISH SEES.—THEIR NUMBER AT THE INVASION.—EXTENSION OF  
 TITHES.—EXECUTIONS FOR HERESY.—ARTICLES OF THE PROTEST-  
 ANT CHURCH IN IRELAND COMPROMISED UPON ITS UNION WITH  
 THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.—WAKEFIELD'S EXPOSITION OF THE  
 ESTABLISHMENT.—PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS RELATING TO  
 TITHES.—THE TEMPORALITIES OF THE CHURCH AND THE APPRO-  
 PRIATION PRINCIPLE.—STATISTICS UPON THESE SUBJECTS.—  
 WORKING OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL COMMISSION.—PRESENT  
 STRENGTH OF THE ESTABLISHMENT.—THE ROMAN CATHOLIC  
 CHURCH, ITS CHAPELS, CLERGY, AND THEIR SOURCES OF INCOME.  
 —THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.—REGIUM DONUM AND FURTHER  
 MEANS OF SUPPORT.—GENERAL SUMMARY.—THE PRINCIPLES OF A  
 CHURCH ESTABLISHMENT ACCORDING TO WARBURTON AND PALEY.  
 —THE PROPOSALS FOR PAYING THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CLERGY.  
 —SUGGESTIONS FOR SOME GENERAL PROVISION APPLICABLE ALIKE  
 TO THE PRESBYTERIAN AND THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCHES.

THE views presented by the history of religion in Ireland, more especially in ancient times, correspond in a remarkable manner with the leading characteristics of the country and the people in other respects. The general outline thus placed before us is surprisingly strange: it is inadequately supported by any train of direct or continuous evidence, and yet here and there sustained by the force of isolated facts so well proved

and so strongly marked as to render doubt of their existence, or denial of their nature or effects, impossible. The impressions thus produced upon the mind are strong, but vague and undefined. We feel that we are dealing with realities, but, like stars dimly seen through a mist, they are wrapped in the veil of impenetrable obscurity; and, while defying the test of minute analysis, bear an air of mystery and wonder to the fanciful and inconsiderate.

We can trace back into the dim recesses of the most remote antiquity vestiges of the fire-worship and Druidism with which the oldest inhabitants of the country first rendered homage to God. But it is unnecessary to dwell upon such topics here, or to discuss the interesting speculations suggested by the authorities which assign to the Phœnicians the introduction into Ireland of written language as well as religion. Our accounts of Christianity amongst the ancient Irish are more distinct and equally curious. Singular to state, almost the first person introduced to our notice in connection with Christianity in Ireland was distinguished as a heretic. Amongst the men who, in the early ages of the church, attained in their own time, by the originality of their opinions and the force of genius, a celebrity which has not as yet ceased to flourish, was the monk Pelagius. He denied the doctrine of original sin, and is said, but to all appearances incorrectly, to have belonged to a monastery at Bangor, near Carrickfergus. Following the track of this heresy, we meet with the most ancient record bearing testimony, in direct and positive terms, to the existence of Christianity in Ireland. It consists of three letters, addressed, we are told, in the form of little books, by Celestius, an able disciple of Pelagius, to his parents in Ireland. These compositions show that the writer was an Irishman, and had been educated in his own country. The authorities collected by Mr. Moore upon this point (Moore's Ireland, vol. i. pp. 207-8), with all the minute precision and studious attention to details for which that History is remarkable, make the Irish origin of Pelagianism probable enough; and it is certain that centuries afterwards the Irish were addicted to the heresy.



How far the attention of the popes of Rome may have first been drawn to the Irish believers in Christ, by the talents of Pelagius and Celestius, it would now be impossible to show. We find, however, in the Chronicle of St. Prosper, that the first bishop was sent to them by Pope Celestine, in the year 431. His name was Palladius. *Ad Scotos in Christum credentes, ordinatus a Papa Celestino Palladius, primus episcopus, mittitur.* The mission was a brief one, and unsuccessful. The Irish, if Joceline is to be relied on, obstinately opposed Palladius and his preaching. Their king, moved by the popular complaint, ordered him to leave the country, and the missionary departed, obedient to the mandate. He died in the following year, 432.

We now reach St. Patrick. This saint is believed to have landed in Ireland, for the purpose of converting the inhabitants, immediately after the abandonment of the new enterprise by Palladius, that is, in the year 432. But, strange to say, no mention of the mission itself, nor even of the name of St. Patrick, is to be found either in the Chronicles of St. Prosper or of Venerable Bede. Nevertheless, Usher, Ware, and the superior authorities of the Protestant church, concur in regarding the constant agreement of Irish authors as unimpeachable testimony in favour of the reality of St. Patrick's existence, and the truthfulness of the popular belief in his pious and peaceful conquest. It is admitted at the same time by the Roman Catholics (Carew's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, p. 62) that centuries had rolled away after the occurrence of the event before any British or foreign writer made a record of it or of St. Patrick. An omission so singular and unaccountable led Dr. Ledwich and some others to maintain that no such person as this saint had ever lived, and that the story of the conversion of the Irish by his means was a monkish fiction. But that learned antiquary and rather prejudiced inquirer stands upon this, as upon some other important questions, in a decided minority.

There is, unquestionably, something mystic and unsatisfactory in the silence observed by the chief papal authorities,

for a length of time, respecting the life and labours of St. Patrick. That loss is to some extent supplied, and with uncommon abundance and fervour, by the Irish writings upon the subject. Joceline tells us, that upwards of sixty biographies of the saint, written by synchronous authors, had appeared before his time, and had perished in the Danish fires. Enough, however, as we are assured, was rescued from those conflagrations to furnish an account to which the chief objection now is that it is far too copious and minute.

There is also a volume of works said to have been written by St. Patrick himself. These appear to have been first published by Sir James Ware about the year 1639, and they were re-edited with notes by the Rev. Mr. Villaneuva, in the year 1835. They consist of Church Canons or Synods, some of which are held to be genuine, while others are admitted to be spurious—an autograph life of the saint, entitled a Confession—and a letter to one Coroticus, a tyrant, who had put some Christians to death.

All these works are written in Latin: we are thus called on to believe that during the time St. Patrick spent in Ireland, he made the clergy of that country such good Latin scholars, as to qualify them to be addressed in that language. To all those who would maintain opinions of this kind, it may not be amiss to quote a remark of Charles O'Connor.—“The missionaries necessarily introduced the Latin tongue into this country, but without purity or elegance. They confined the use of it to the study of the Holy Scriptures solely; and they appear to be strangers to criticism, or the art of composition. The writings of the natives in their own language we find formed on the models of the old fleas; and whatever language they wrote in, hardly a period transpires which betrays any acquaintance with the Greek or Latin classics.” It would ill accord with the plan and design of this work to criticise here the narratives thus provided for the admiration of a confiding nation, or the numerous miracles,\* some of them rather ill-

\* The following affords a specimen of these legends. A sort of highwayman, by name Macaldus, enraged—we are not told why—against the

naturedly wrought, ascribed to St. Patrick's agency, or even the authenticity of the works which bear his name. This, too, we are bound to observe, that whether we assume the whole or the greater part to be genuine, the foundation will not bear the heavy structure which the enthusiasm of the saint's votaries would raise upon it.

In this, as in so many similar instances, the attempt made to supply a dark and far distant age with a chain of events unbroken throughout and complete at every link, has signally failed. Some general outline of the life and labours of this eminent man might be credible; but when the remoteness of his era, and the incivilization of the country are remembered, no reflecting mind can accept with confidence the minute, circumstantial details presented to us—of the place and date of St. Patrick's parentage, birth and education—of his studies and instructors—of his repeated captivities and the exact stages of the itinerary which he is reported to have made through the four provinces of Ireland; to say nothing of visions, angels'-visits, and the performance of more miracles than the New Testament records of the great founder of Christianity itself.

The result of the mission itself remains to be unfolded. After having devoted thirty-three years to the conversion of the natives—after having completely succeeded in that noble enterprise—after having appointed bishops and priests throughout the whole country, consecrating with his own hands 350 bishops according to Jocelin, and 365 according

saint, resolved to murder him. Accordingly Macaldus and his fellows lay in wait for the purpose. It was agreed between them that one of the party, O'Garraghan, should feign illness, and that the others should draw the saint aside under the pretence of affording succour to the sick man. Saint Patrick approached, and being asked to restore the latter to health by singing some incantations over him, contemptuously replied, that it would not be the least surprising if he really *were* sick, and walked on. The party turned to O'Garraghan, and lo he was dead! Macaldus, struck by the miracle, became a convert to Christianity, and afterwards rose to be a bishop in the Isle of Man. So far so good; but it is to be hoped that the saint said a few available prayers for the soul of the unlucky O'Garraghan, who was made to pay rather dearly for the trick he tried to play.



to Newman; and after having everywhere established the doctrines and discipline of the Christian rule of faith, we are assured that St. Patrick died in the odour of sanctity, March 17th, 465, aged 73 years.

Such is the account of Roman Catholic writers; but there are Protestants who contend, that although St. Patrick converted the Irish to Christianity, he did not make them Roman Catholics. According to the latter authorities, the Church of Rome and the Church of Ireland were different and independent establishments at the period referred to. A series of events are noted to justify this view of the case; as, for instance, the disputes respecting the proper time of celebrating Easter; respecting the Three Chapters; the celibacy of the clergy, and others.

On the question of the Three Chapters,\* Cardinal Baronius is cited, Ann. 566, No. 21, where it is related that all the bishops in Ireland rose up in defence of the Three Chapters, and departing from Rome adhered to the rest of the *schismatics*. Next we have a reference to the Council of Whitby, held in the year 664, at which Colman the Irishman contended against Wilfrid the Saxon, for the Irish mode of computing the festival of Easter.† Numerous letters and declarations of

\* By this title is described the great controversy of the 5th and 6th centuries respecting the distinct natures of God and man in the person of Jesus Christ. It is also known as the Nestorian heresy, from Nestorius, a Syrian bishop, who is held to have first broached the opinions upon which it turned. The Three Chapters were writings by Theodore of Mopsuestea, a disciple of Nestorius—by Theodoret, and the Bishop of Edessa, all in favour of the tenets of Nestorius, and all condemned by the Council of Constantinople, A.D. 553.

† The Paschal controversy, as it was called, raged with peculiar fierceness in the British Isles, and was not appeased before the year 800. It arose from the imperfect manner in which time was computed in former days. The Jews had their own cycles, lunar and solar, and by them the time of celebrating the passover was calculated. But their year contained only 365 days and 6 hours. The eastern Christians followed the Jewish mode of computation, until the error to which it led was corrected at the instance of the Church of Alexandria, by the Nicene Council held A.D. 325. The see of Rome did not immediately adopt the improved method. Ultimately, however, the confusion became so marked and considerable, that Pope Honorius applied himself to a final settlement of the differences, which he adjusted principally by the ability of the Presbyter Victorius, who produced his elaborate computations upon the subject in the year 457.

Irish ecclesiastics are further quoted,\* in which they justified their peculiar observances in these and other respects by the practice of their predecessors.

We have recurring evidence of formal points of difference such as these, between the worship of the Church of Rome and Ireland, having occasioned long and furious altercations. One party asserts that the Church of Ireland was independent of the Pope, and professed tenets and observed practices expressly forbidden by Roman Catholics; and they go so far as to derive the introduction of Christianity into Ireland from the bishops of the East, who had never done homage to the Pope. The other party firmly maintain that the Church of Ireland emanated from, and was always associated with, and subject to the Roman see. As a general statement this latter representation of the facts is undoubtedly the more correct, but there are some curious and very striking exceptions to be taken to the completeness of the rule. The differences between heresy and schism, according to the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church, are definitely marked; and the truth appears to be, that the Irish ecclesiastics of the olden times went in some respects, and at various intervals of time, the full length of schism, without at the same time separating themselves by heresy from the main body of the Church. In reality, the connexion of the Church of Ireland with the Church of Rome is in nothing proved more strongly than in occasional acts of dissent upon minor topics. When Columbanus† appealed to Boniface, the Pope of his day, against

\* A very well-written piece, still extant in good Latin, by Cummian, Abbot of Hy, is frequently referred to in this matter. The composition is remarkable not only for its merits of style and argumentation, which are considerable, but also for the singular circumstance that the monks of Hy, reputed Culdees, should have furnished, perhaps, the best treatise against the prevailing error of their order, namely, opposition to the Roman time of celebrating Easter.

† Columbanus wrote twice to Rome upon the subject of these disputes. The first epistle to Gregory the Great referred to the Paschal controversy; the second was on the question of the Three Chapters, and was addressed to Pope Boniface. In the latter communication the following decisive passage challenges our attention. "Amongst the Irish there is no Jew, no heretic, no schismatic, but the catholic faith, such as it was delivered by the predecessors of your holiness, continues unshaken amongst them. For we are bound to the chair of St. Peter: it is the chair which renders

the Roman computation of Easter, he stated emphatically, while arguing in favour of the practices of his predecessors:—"We are attached to the chair of St. Peter. Rome is the head of the churches of the world." So when Cardinal Baronius relates, in the passage already quoted, the adherence of the Irish bishops to the "Three Chapters," he classes them with the other *schismatics*, and not heretics. Again, Saint Cummian, who was a party to the controversy, and Venerable Bede, both tell us that the Irish Church in the year 633 sent a deputation to Rome upon the subject of the Roman form of celebrating Easter, which was thenceforward observed in Ireland. Stating these things, and seeing Irish bishops received with open arms upon the continent, and founding some of the most celebrated monasteries and ecclesiastical schools of which Roman Catholic Europe is proud to boast; finding them, moreover, called to and taking part in the councils and synods of that time, it seems vain to pretend that they represent an independent or disconnected church. If such had been the case they would not have corresponded with Rome; they would not have been admitted to attend the deliberations of its hierarchy, and they would not have sought counsel of its head. These considerations and one other—that there never appears to have been but *one* church service, added to occasionally, no doubt, as happened to the prayers of the mass, but always the same Latin one still in use—furnish of all others the most convincing proof of the substantial universality of the doctrines and worship of the Roman Catholic Church during the middle ages.

On the other hand, the Roman Catholics far exceed all warrantable limits when they insist that their Church, as now established, has been consistently faithful to the same rules and ceremonials, and has always been linked to Rome in the same manner and by the same ties as those by which it is now bound. Proofs of a contrary state of things are abun-

Rome—otherwise, indeed, great—eminent and illustrious with us. By the Apostles Peter and Paul, you are become almost celestial, and Rome is the head of the universe and of all churches." Such language, and from a Culdee, puts an end to argument upon the point.



dant; and it would not in the slightest degree affect the argument in favour of the divine foundation of the see of Rome, were it to be admitted that its perfect establishment was the work of time and of human beings; and, as such, that it was necessarily a thing of gradual progress and consummation. To suppose that the plan itself, or its administration, sprung up at once, consistent and complete in every respect, is to claim for it more than God himself, when teaching religion to the Jews, or Jesus Christ, effected for the doctrines thus proposed to be consolidated. A series of years were demanded before twelve apostles were collected, and even they doubted and hesitated down to the moment of the crucifixion. If there was incredulity amongst the small band so chosen and taught, how natural were differences of opinion amongst the scattered multitudes who subsequently accepted their creed. If Christ required his lifetime to instruct the apostles, how much more were ages required to inculcate Christianity amongst the nations of the earth, and to put into working order the machinery devised for maintaining the unity of the Church in the supremacy of Rome.

For a time different cities contended for that honour. It was sought to place the metropolis of the Christian world in Europe, Asia, and Africa. But whether it was owing to familiar ideas of the past, or some irresistible charm in the name itself, or whether the more subtle genius of the Italian mind prevailed in the contest, Rome carried away the prize; the several Roman Catholic Churches became one and the same; and the city of the seven hills stood erect for a second time as the unresisted arbitress of the world. So that it is not in Ireland only that the Christian establishments of modern times present in their forms and appearances points of difference so numerous and so unlike those of the primitive ages of the Church, as to render it at a first glance not an easy matter to recognise in both one and the same religious structure.

With Christianity commenced the civilization of the lower orders: Christianity thus appears essentially as the religion of the masses, and especially as the religion of the poor. For them more than all others it was designed; to them accord-

ingly it was first addressed. And thus its primitive form was clearly democratic; but the aristocratic element was soon introduced, and once entertained it usurped and permanently retained the ascendancy peculiar to its nature. What Christianity might have been, if the original plan of its teachers had been worked out in its integrity; and what the Church would have been if it had escaped the corruption with which the Emperor Constantine tainted it, when he allied it to the throne, it were now a vain speculation to inquire. But it is impossible to study the records—and they are neither scanty nor obscure—of the era referred to, without feeling convinced that what is now and has long been called the Church, is an institution of very slow growth and difficult construction. It may be seen, in point of fact, to rise and increase naturally out of the progress of the events which contributed so materially to form its character and extend its influence.

The apostles and their successors went forth preaching the gospel from place to place, and founding separate congregations in different countries. The larger towns were first resorted to, the smaller ones afterwards, and thus the civil superiority of particular cities and places, and the dependence of others upon them, followed as a matter of course, and gradually led to the institution of bishops and patriarchs for each. To prevent the spread of varying doctrines and dissimilar observances, frequent communications became necessary between the separate congregations, as well as references to the heads of the older ones, as the natural depositaries of the pure rules of faith and action. Synods and councils were thus introduced, and at length, growing out of and uniting the whole, the Church was established. But it is a matter of fact, as clear as any other in the history of the world and the progress of society, that the evolution of many centuries was required to perfect this organization.

We find in succession the churches and patriarchs of Alexandria, of Rome, of Antioch in the year 325, of Constantinople in the year 381, and of Jerusalem so late as the year 451. Rome put forward her pretensions to command all these churches at an early period. For instance, Fleury tells us,

(l. iv. c. 44,) that in the year 196, Victor, Pope of Rome, issued his mandate to the Asiatic churches, ordering them to conform to the Roman practice of celebrating Easter. But the desired obedience was not yielded for a length of time. The division of the Roman empire into eastern and western naturally made the patriarchs of Rome and Constantinople rivals for superior power. Leo the Great, who died in the year 461, was the first who successfully asserted the superiority of Rome upon a grand scale. Valentinian III. gave him the title of Head of the Church. The African patriarchs appear to have been mainly instrumental to the assumption of this enlarged power, and also to have stoutly resisted, and even to have disobeyed it, when applied to their own churches.\* But the progress of events favoured its consolidation in a remarkable manner.

In Africa, where it once flourished under the teeming auspices of enthusiastic devotion, and a degree of learning never surpassed; in Palestine, the favoured seat of its birth; in Constantinople, where it first rejoiced in the glory of state patronage and imperial authority, Christianity itself disappeared altogether, and became as much a matter of bygone curiosity as the worship of animals or the deification of men. Throughout the successive ages during which the predisposing causes of these strange events were in a course of development, the dexterous ability and high resolves of the successors of St. Peter were incessantly employed in operating upon the changes consequent upon the decline and fall of the Roman empire, and making, as occasion required and opportunity served, equal use of their temporal and their spiritual

\* The patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, happening to differ with the patriarch of Constantinople, appealed to Leo, and addressed him on that occasion as the Œcumenic or Universal Patriarch. This led to the Council of Chalcedon, which voted that the sees of Rome and Constantinople should hold equal rank. In the year 588 the Emperor Maurice formally conferred the same title upon his own patriarch John, commonly called the Pastor of Constantinople. Strong and unseemly reclamations, conceived in the bitterest spirit of resentment, and conveyed in the most sarcastic language, were evoked in different quarters by these struggling steps towards the establishment of a paramount ascendancy. The issue seems to have been decided less by the justice or necessities of the case than by the force of political circumstances.



resources, until they advanced to its culminating point the great dominion of Papal Rome. The year 754-5 was rendered memorable by the celebrated donation of the temporal sovereignty of the Exarchate of Ravenna by King Pepin to Pope Zachary. Nicholas I. who died in the year 867, a man of commanding spirit and heroic power, was the first to enforce his authority over \* national churches vainly struggling for independence, and temporal sovereigns proudly reluctant to bend their own necks to a yoke they had once helped to impose on their subjects. And thus the triumph proceeded until, as Ranke has shown, it was at length completed with consummate skill and marvellous effects towards the close of the ninth century.

Small, sequestered, afar from Rome, insignificant in her commercial relations, and without power as a nation, Ireland, during this long interval maintained no large or regular channels of communication with the continent, and hence the slow and imperfect degrees with which the power of the Pope influenced her petty kings or penetrated the consciences of her people.

It would be quite out of place to attempt in a work of this kind to trace the distinct process by which the genius of a few priests succeeded in raising out of the ashes of the Roman empire a new dominion, different in all its elements and in its scope, from the masterpiece of the great minds of ancient Europe, but in many respects more potent and more wonderful. The swords of valiant soldiers and military genius made ancient Rome the physical mistress of the world; the more refined intellect of the Italian enabled modern Rome again to dictate to the minds of nations with a power to the full as complete and far more severe than the older empire ever possessed. Certain, however, is it that so magnificent a structure was not erected with ease or rapidity.

In this as in all religious controversies, minute and insignificant points are contested with bitter obstinacy and determi-

\* See the account by M. Guizot of the victory achieved by this patriarch over Lothaire in the case of his repudiated wife, and over the Gallican Church in his dispute with Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims.

nation. At the very threshold of our inquiries respecting the introduction and progress of Christianity in Ireland, we are met by a question about which a good deal has been written, although nothing in the controversy is really proved for it one way or the other. We are asked, Was St. Patrick ever at Rome, and consecrated bishop by the Pope? Protestants generally reply in the negative, and Roman Catholics in the affirmative; but as they who deny a consecration by the Pope admit one by a Gaulish bishop, and moreover as a consecration by the Pope would not cover or account for other discrepancies still left remaining on that side of the question, it seems puerile to endeavour to make the distinction carry with it consequences of any importance in either respect. And yet this is one of the pleas on which we are called to find that the Christianity of the Irish was not originally the Christianity of modern Roman Catholics, or rather that it answered to that form which is observed by the Established Protestant Church of the present day.

Archbishop Usher, an author of considerable weight and attainments, and perhaps the most learned of Irish ecclesiastics, fancied that he could detect a peculiar likeness between the religion of the apostle of Ireland and his own form of worship. The authority of Usher's name, and the keen antagonism of rival establishments, have led many feebler writers to adopt this ingenious speculation; but it is impossible for any disinterested observer to survey the progress of Christianity with steady eyes and unbiassed judgment, without perceiving, as has already been intimated, that soon after the institution of a Christian hierarchy there came to be, in the true and full meaning of the term, but one Church. For a time signal and laborious efforts appear to have been made for the purpose of giving one paramount head and seat of empire to that Church. Submission to Rome, and the completion of the aristocratic constitution of Christianity, were attained slowly and not always with the best grace. But there is no evidence whatever to show anything like two churches or two forms of worship. The Presbyterians and others who, repudiating tradition, and reposing plainly on the letter of the Bible and the

example of the apostles, contend for the simple plan of pastor and flock, are entitled at least to the credit of putting forward a case consistent in itself and easily understood. But when the united Church of England and Ireland, which, notwithstanding its bitter repudiation of the Pope himself, is in so many things so extremely popish, claims to be derived from a Church as ancient as the days of St. Patrick, and yet distinct from the Roman Church of that age, we cannot but sigh to observe how little proof are even great learning and piety against the perverse influence of prejudice and sectarian zeal.

We cannot, then, discover two churches, or two systems or forms of religion; but we recognise clearly enough several points of difference in the Church of Ireland which are sufficiently marked and prominent to deserve particular notice. One of these was the celibacy of the clergy. St. Patrick's father—if the confession ascribed to him may be taken as an authority—was a deacon, and his grandfather a priest. The words transmitted to us as having been written by the Saint himself are, "*Patrem habui Calpornium Diaconem, filium quondam Potiti Presbyteri.*" This language seems plain enough; but we are told that it is to be received with an important qualification, namely, that those persons, though married, had devoted themselves to chastity before they were admitted into holy orders. And such, no doubt, may have been the case; but even though we accept that explanation, the result will still remain, upon the authority of St. Patrick himself, a general testimony in favour of clerical marriages, which seems decisive of the question at issue. For the sixth ordinance of St. Patrick's synod, after prescribing certain things respecting the tunic and tonsure of the priest, proclaims that his wife shall not walk abroad unveiled without incurring the contempt of the laity and excommunication. The words are, "*Quicumque clericus, etc.—et uxor ejus, si non relato capite ambulaverit, pariter a laicis contempnentur et ab Ecclesia separentur.*"

This canon is not a little perplexing. If its authenticity be admitted, it is impossible to say that priests did not marry in



the time of St. Patrick. If, on the other hand, the authenticity of the canon be denied, this and the other works ascribed to the saint can only be treated as fabrications.

Notwithstanding this, we find all modern Roman Catholic writers insisting upon clerical celibacy as a virtue introduced into Ireland along with Christianity, and as always constituting one of the most conspicuous deserts of the Irish priesthood. Mr. Carew (*Eccles. Hist.* pp. 144-5), as proofs of this truth, selects from the numerous monuments of piety left by the illustrious members of his ancient church a few testimonials which, as they are short, may not be altogether misplaced if quoted here.

“Clerici frequentandi extraneas mulieres non habeant potestatem, sed cum matre vel thia filia, sorore, nepte, tantum vivant, de quibus omnibus nefas est aliquid quam natura constituit suspicare.”—*Martene*, lib. 9. The words thia filia, when joined together, mean an unmarried aunt.—*Lan. V. 4, p. 389.*

“Si quis autem clericus aut diaconus alicujus gradus qui laicus fuit in seculo, cum filiis et filialibus, post conversionem suam iterum suam cognoverit clientelam, et filium iterum de ea genuerit, sciat se adulterium perpetrasse at non minus peccasse, quam si ab juventute sua clericus fuisset, et cum puella aliena peccasset, quia post votum suam peccavit, postquam se Domino consecravit, et votum suam irritum fecit: idcirco septem annis in pane et aqua pœniteat.”—*Liber St. Columbani De Pœnitentiarum Mensur. taxanda*, Cap. Bibl. Patr. tom. 12, p. 21.

“Si clericus aut monachus postquam se Deo voverit, ad secularem habitum reversus fuerit, aut uxorem duxerit, decem annis pœniteat . . . et nunquam postea in conjugio copuletur. Quod si noluerit, sancta synodus, vel sedes apostolica separavit eos a communione et convocationibus Catholicorum.”—*Cummiani Pœnitential. cap. 3.\**

\* Mr. Carew might have added largely to his authorities, for they are most abundant to the same effect. Councils for many centuries seem rarely to have met without passing some decree or other respecting the celibacy of the clergy or the supremacy of the Pope. But many of those who rely upon this line of argument to prove either the one question or the other in the affirmative, do not seem to be aware of the strong rejoinder to which they are exposed. The plain fact that from the fourth to the ninth century the general councils of the Church were so often required to legislate upon these subjects must be taken as conclusive evidence of an unsettled state of things respecting them. Men do not make laws to punish malpractices that have ceased to be committed, or to correct errors that have been abandoned. So long, therefore, as councils are found declaring that priests shall not marry, it may be safely assumed

Strong as these terms are, and severe as is the penance imposed, it would seem as if there was occasion for both. St. Bernard, in his *Life of St. Malachy*, is a severe censor of the Irish clergy for this and other causes. He stigmatizes them as a wicked and adulterous generation. Alluding to the practice of assigning bishoprics to particular families, he says: "Clergymen sometimes failed in a family, but bishops never." The enjoyment of the see of Armagh by fifteen persons of the same lineage has been already mentioned, Vol. I., p. 64. This abuse immediately preceded the primacy of Celsus, A.D. 1129. We are also told that there were twenty-seven bishops of Roscarbery of the family of St. Feachan, its first bishop. So, too, the O'Tooles were the patrons of Glendalough, and enjoyed the title and presentation to the see long after its consolidation with that of Dublin.

Notwithstanding these and other departures from the strict rule and practice of the general church, certain it is that Christianity flourished in Ireland with extraordinary vigour and fecundity, and that Irish ecclesiastics conferred lasting benefits upon Scotland, England, France, and the Italian States. The number of Irish missionaries, monks, and bishops who left their own country during the sixth and seventh centuries to preach the faith, convert barbarians, and establish clerical seminaries and retreats abroad, is amazingly great. What constituted an Irish bishop in those days we do not exactly know. The use of the word "bishop" does not appear to have always indicated—at least in Ireland—an office of local authority, but rather a title of distinction, at once the evidence and reward of eminent piety and learning. Amongst the most eminent of the Irish missionaries and preachers were several Culdees. Mention has been made of those ornaments of the primitive Church of Ireland at p. 67, Vol. I, but we have no authentic account of their origin or their institutions. The rule of the order appears not to have been preserved: the Culdees shine like distant lights in the depths of our ancient

that there were priests who did marry; and so long as decrees in favour of the Pope's supremacy were deemed necessary, it is fair to suppose that some power or party existed to deny the right.

history, commended by writers of all opinions for their brightness and purity, but with much of their distinctness irrecoverably immersed in the obscurity they adorn.\*

Much of the success consequent upon the first propagation of Christianity in Ireland is ascribable, in all probability, to the peculiar genius or temperament of the people. Two leading and most influential characteristics of that genius or temperament—imagination and indolence—must have been strongly affected by the new religion. The doctrines of the creation and redemption of man, heaven and hell, penances and pardons, and the gentle labour of pious works, which, according to that religion sufficed to insure immortal glory in the next world, could not fail to captivate a people so prone to the indulgence of mental susceptibility, and so averse to the toil of persevering assiduity as the Irish in all ages have shown themselves to be. More substantial attractions were not wanting to the new faith. The Termon lands, Eranachs and Comorbans of the old Irish Church, have already been spoken of, Vol. I., p. 355. We do not know the extent or value of those lands, but they must have been considerable if we may form an estimate upon the only tangible fact that has come down to our own time as a test of the subject; for it is

\* Dr. Lingard's eloquent notice of the Irish Culdees (*History of the Anglo-Saxon Church*) is worth quoting:—The rule which was followed by the disciples of Columba has not been transmitted to us by any Latin writer: and the Irish copies of it which have been preserved are written in a language that has hitherto eluded the skill of the most patient antiquary. But Bede, in different parts of his works, has borne the most honourable testimony to their virtue. With a glowing pencil, he displays their patience, their chastity, their frequent meditations on the sacred writings, and their indefatigable efforts to attain the summit of Christian perfection. They chose for their habitation the most dreary situations; no motives but those of charity could draw them from their cells; and if they appeared in public, their object was to reconcile enemies, to instruct the ignorant, to discourage vice, and to plead the cause of the unfortunate. The little property which they enjoyed was common to all; poverty they esteemed as the surest guard of virtue, and the benefactions of the opulent they respectfully declined, or instantly employed in relieving the necessities of the indigent; one only stain did he discover in their character—an immoderate esteem for their forefathers, which prompted them to prefer their own customs to the consent of all other Christian churches, but this, he piously trusted, would disappear in the bright effulgence of their virtues.



well known that the excessive wealth of the archbishopric of Armagh was owing to the quantity of old Termon lands, which were traced at the time of the Reformation as annexations of that see, after having escaped the vicissitudes and confiscations of preceding ages.

Mr. Carew (*Eccles. Hist.* pp. 149-50 and 51) informs us, that in every part of the country tracts of land, sometimes of great extent, were consecrated by the proprietors to the support of the officiating clergy or the endowment of some religious institution. At certain seasons of the year, as well as on particular occasions also, each pastor received from his people such offerings as usage or ecclesiastical ordinance had appointed. A certain portion, moreover, of the property of every deceased person was reserved for the Church; and whenever the bishop visited the houses of worship, subject to his authority, certain pecuniary offerings were presented to him.

The prosperity of the Irish Church was much checked and disordered by the Danish invasions, which began in the year 795. So much were the rights of property weakened, and the country disorganized, by the ravages of those barbarians, that after a time the native princes and chieftains began to imitate their example, and to despoil the clergy of their revenues, as well as to charge them with heavy contributions for the support of the unruly forces they mustered to defend the kingdom. Such exactions would have been the more easily enforced, because the Irish clergy, as Dr. Lanigan relates, Vol. I., p. 209, were held to owe the customary duties of clansmen to their chieftains, and were bound by the ordinary jurisdiction of the Brehow laws.

In process of time we find the Danes not only obtaining settlements in the country but becoming converts to Christianity. They did not however fraternise with the Irish Church. It is one of the most singular facts connected with the religious history of Ireland, that the Danish ecclesiastics of the country sought consecration from English and not from Irish bishops. Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick, were the

chief seats of Danish power, and Archbishop Usher relates that Silitzie, a Danish king, reigned in Dublin about the year 1038, and erected there a bishop's see, making his countryman Donough the first bishop. Donough was consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and so was his successor Patrick, who came for that purpose to London, and received the rite at St. Paul's. The form of homage used on the occasion is preserved in Usher's Sylloge. Obedience is promised not to the primate of Ireland or to any Irish superior, but to Lanfranc primate of Britain, an ecclesiastic, by the bye, who appears to have entertained high pretensions with respect to the Church of Ireland. Two letters of his are to be found in the same work, which fully justify this observation. The one is addressed to Turlogh, the Magnificent King of Ireland, and the other to his Danish rival Gothric, the Glorious King of Ireland.

Anselm, who succeeded Lanfranc in the see of Canterbury, extended the English influence over the Church of Ireland. He made Gilbert, a personal friend, bishop of Limerick in the year 1094, and he consecrated at Canterbury, Malchus, bishop of Waterford, and Patrick of Dublin. Anselm is further commemorated as the person who caused two councils to be held in Meath in the year 1111, at which it was agreed that the clergy should stand exempt from taxation and secular laws, and that bishops thenceforward should abandon the right they claimed to have derived from St. Patrick, of consecrating at pleasure, to their own order; so that, excepting for the moment all present possessors of sees, the number of sees and bishops in Ireland should be limited for the future to twenty-eight. We are assured that about this period they amounted to three hundred.

But the person above all others who appears to have exerted himself with the warmest zeal and the best effect to render the forms and discipline of the Irish Church identical with those of Rome, was St. Malachy. He was for a time Archbishop of Armagh and then Bishop of Down. Celsus or Celestine, elected to the see of Armagh in the year 1106, was,

we are told, a good and pious man, well affected to the supremacy of the Pope, and adverse to the interference of the see of Canterbury with the affairs of the Irish Church; but he was married and loth to renounce the society of his wife and children. It thus happened that, excepting the establishment of Cashel as a metropolitan see, we find no work of progress or reform accomplished under his auspices. On his death-bed, in the year 1129, he testified the bias of his mind by sending his crozier to Malachy. This was held tantamount to an appointment to the vacant see, and accordingly Malachy appears in possession of it a few years afterwards. But the native chieftains resented this election as an infringement of their local rights, and a departure from long-established custom. Their opposition, though overcome for a time, proved too strong to be ultimately resisted, and at the end of three years Malachy withdrew to the humbler see of Connor and Down, Gelasius taking the primacy, which he held until the arrival of Henry II. before whom he did homage at a very advanced age.

Having introduced various new regulations in his own diocese, and aspiring to draw closer the ties that bound the Church of Ireland to the Roman Pontiff, Malachy undertook to visit Rome, and solicit palls,\* for the metropolitan sees of Armagh and Cashel. On this journey he stopped at the celebrated monastery of Clairvaux, governed by St. Bernard as abbot. To this event we owe consequences of some interest, the Latin life, namely, of St. Malachy, written by St. Bernard, and the introduction into Ireland from Clairvaux of the Benedictine or Cistercian order of monks, which ultimately led to the displacement of the Culdees in every direction.†

\* The pectoral of the high priest of the Jews distinguished him from subordinate ministers. The expediency of assigning a corresponding distinction to the more exalted members of the Christian hierarchy suggested in all probability the pall or *pallium*.—*Carew, Eccles. Hist.*, p. 112.

† Amongst other orders of monks brought into Ireland for the purpose of superseding the Culdees were the Canons Regular of St. Augustine. Malachy appears to have been instrumental to their introduction also.



Arrived at Rome, Malachy preferred his petition for the palls to Innocent II. But the Pope would not concede the honour, sought as it was, not by the Irish clergy and people, but by a single prelate. To soften this refusal and at the same time mark his sense of Malachy's deserts, Innocent declared him Apostolic Legate in Ireland.

The Irish clergy however appear to have been not at all anxious to secure the distinctions which Malachy took such pains to obtain for them. For several years no movement was made in the business. At length, in the year 1148, a National Synod was convoked at Holmpatrick, at the instance of Malachy, and with the consent of the primate Gelasius. Arrangements likely to influence the pontiff in favour of the intended request were now agreed to unanimously, in an assembly composed, according to the annals of Innisfallen, of 15 bishops, 200 priests, and a considerable number of the inferior clergy. According to Mr. Carew (*Ecclesiastical History*, p. 119), the council was at first indisposed to entrust Malachy with the expression of their opinion; but he urged his suit so earnestly that he succeeded in overcoming this adverse feeling, and was at length appointed to represent the Church of Ireland at Rome. He began his journey without delay, but long as

Mr. Carew says that the trifling discrepancies between the rules followed by these Canons, and the discipline received in the Irish monasteries, contributed to repress feelings of hostility or repugnance to the new order. The code of laws, he proceeds, which the institute of St. Augustine sanctioned, while it excluded every indulgence that interfered with the duties of the sacred ministry, did not prescribe the austere exercises which were enjoined by the rules of other religious orders. And thus it was that St. Malachy was led to encourage their settlement in Ireland. But why should that discerning prelate have been so anxious to oust the native monks, if they were not, in some respects or other, obnoxious, and prone to practices or opinions which did not accord with the high notions of ecclesiastical discipline and papal authority entertained by him and others? Coupling this circumstance, with the loss of the discipline-code of the Culdees, with the gradual disappearance of the order consequent upon the full establishment in Ireland of the power of the see of Rome, and bearing in mind that St. Columba, the great patron and ornament of the order, narrowly escaped excommunication (*Carew's Ecclesiastical History*, p. 186); it is not easy to divest the mind wholly of a suspicion that the Culdees may have been eminent for some of the peculiarities so generally and yet so vaguely attributed to them by many writers.

he had laboured to accomplish this favourite object, he was not destined to achieve it. Upon reaching the monastery of Clairvaux, he was seized with a violent illness which terminated his life. This happened in the year 1148. The business of the palls was ultimately concluded by Cardinal Paparo, at the Synod of Kells, in the year 1152, when canons were passed to complete the reforms relating to the bishoprics, begun by the Council of Meath, as already stated, in the year 1111.

But perhaps the most convincing exposition of the extent to which the Church of Ireland up to this period had omitted to adopt the full discipline and observances of the see of Rome, is to be found in a tract written by Gilbert, the Danish bishop of Limerick, already mentioned, and preserved in Usher's *Sylloge*. This composition was addressed to the Irish clergy, and furnished for their instruction the canonical custom of saying the hours, and performing the whole ecclesiastical office; to the end—as the document itself announces—that the different schismatical orders by which almost all Ireland was deluded might give place to one Roman Catholic office.

Of the Synod of Cashel, which ratified the Pope's grant of Ireland to Henry II., of tithes, and other matters in that assembly for the first time imposed, sufficient notice has already been taken (Vol. I., pp. 106, 107). The Church of Ireland and its clergy would now seem to have been clearly brought within the circle of the Pope's authority, and might be expected—for the future at least—to have been fully and unreservedly bound to the discipline and observances inculcated by his supremacy. But the alliance appears to have been neither intimate nor complete. A great national crime had supplied the consideration for the recent compact, and as Dr. Lanigan, echoing the language of Cambrensis truly observes; "Wherever the natives maintained their independence, the clergy and people maintained their own ecclesiastical rules, as if the Synod of Cashel never had been held." Whatever therefore may be the ground for supposing that the Irish entertained no strong affection for the papal dominion before the

invasion of Henry II., it seems nearly certain that their feelings did not incline more warmly in that direction for some time afterwards. In point of fact two parties of Irish ecclesiastics appear to have now sprung into existence with rapid precocity, namely, the English-Irish, and the native; and we do not find the latter energetically Roman, until the Reformation had effectually detached the Pope from England and its interests.

The English Sovereign, after contesting awhile with the see of Rome for the appointment of Irish bishops, succeeded in obtaining that valuable patronage, and seldom failed to assign it to Englishmen. Discontent and resentment grew with fresh vigour in the breasts of the natives, when they saw the highest honours and largest emoluments of their church conferred upon foreigners. The practice seems to have commenced as early as the reign of King John, and to have been effected nearly in this way. The dean and chapter, when a vacancy occurred, sued out a *congé d'élire*, and, after holding an election, reported the result to the Crown. If the choice made happened to be acceptable at court, a writ for the restitution of the temporalities of the see which had vested in the Crown upon the demise of the preceding bishop, was issued as a matter of course; but if the proposed appointment was unacceptable, the writ was held back, and the new bishop was left without a revenue to support his office. So stringent an alternative soon placed all the sees of Ireland at the King's disposal.\*

The English custom of holding church lands *in capite* from the Crown came to be adopted at nearly the same period; and thus in process of time the Irish bishops and the heads of the principal monasteries acquired the right of sitting in the Irish parliament. As many as sixteen abbots and twelve priors are to be found in the Irish House of Lords by right of the landed

\* Bishops are now made in Ireland in a different manner from that observed England. In Ireland, by the act 2 Elizabeth, c. 4, the Crown appoints to the sees, as they become vacant, by *letters patent*, so that no writ of *congé d'élire* issues in Ireland.



estates attached to their appointments. Thus, amongst other striking consequences of the Invasion, we have to notice the monkish orders, who were now established in considerable numbers throughout the country. Previously, the Cistercians and the Canons Regular of Saint Augustine were, with the Culdees, the only monks in Ireland: but brothers of all orders now flocked to the country, and, settling themselves in choice localities, continued to increase in numbers and property, until they amounted, on the dissolution of the monasteries, to 563,\* according to Ware, Archdale, and the other authorities.

Henceforward the history of the church in Ireland presents, as a whole, little that deserves particular notice beyond what has already been adverted to in Vol. I. Chap. 9. Whenever an Irishman happened to gain a mitre he seems to have been well inclined to imitate the example of St. Law-

\* The following list gives the total number of establishments, distinguishing the number belonging to each order:—

Abbeys and Priories of Augustinians, Canons and Canons Regular, Aroasians and Victorines.	223
Convents of Canonesses or Augustinian Nuns.	38
Priories of Premonstratensians or White Canons, a branch of the Augustinians, who were also called Norbertines.	8
Houses of Hermits of St. Austin, called Austin Friars.	24
Commanderies, Preceptories, and Priories of Knights-Hospitalers, or of St. John of Jerusalem, under the rule of St. Augustine, some of which had previously belonged to the Knights-Templars.	22
Hospitals and Priories of Trinitarians, under the rule of St. Augustine, established for the redemption of captives in the Holy Land, and also of Cruciferi or Crouched Friars, called Cross Bearers.	14
Abbeys and Priories of Benedictines, called Black Monks.	9
Convents of Benedictine Nuns, called Black Nuns.	5
Abbeys and Priories of Cistercian Monks or Bernardines.	42
Cistercian Nunneries.	2
Abbeys and Priories of Dominican Friars, called Black Friars or Friars Preachers.	41
Abbeys and Priories of Franciscans or Grey Friars, including the Friars Minors, Observantines, and Conventuals.	114
Convents of Carmelites or White Friars.	20
Priory of Culdees at Armagh.	1

rence O'Toole, and make a stand against the Crown as opportune or effective occasions presented themselves. Thus, when Parliament granted Edward III. a subsidy to be levied upon church as well as other lands, the Archbishop of Cashel, Ralph Kelly, happening to be an Irishman, the levy of the money, according to Ware and D'Alton, was resolutely opposed throughout his province. The suffragan bishops of Emly, Lismore, and Limerick co-operated with their metropolitan, and a decree was fulminated against all persons who contributed to the subsidy.\* If clergymen, they were deprived of their benefices, and rendered incapable of future preferment; and if laymen, tenants of church lands, they were excommunicated, and their descendants to the third generation rendered incapable of admission to holy orders.

There are but few traces of heresy to be detected in Ireland, and no movement corresponding in any respect with the proceedings of the Lollards in England. There is, however, an account in Grace's Annals of an execution for heresy. The victim was Adam Duff, of the sept of the O'Tooles. He is said to have denied the incarnation of Christ, the immaculate conception of Mary, and the resurrection of the dead; and also to have contended that there could not be three persons in one God; that the scriptures were fables; and that Rome was not the apostolic see. For all this he was burned on the

\* Mr. Moore, when describing the proceedings of a synod, held at Cashel during the same reign, distinguishes the two parties in the Church, English and Irish, in these terms:—

“Much of the opposition thus shown to the government by the Irish clergy proceeded doubtless from political differences within the Church itself;—as even at that period, when all were of one faith, the Church of the government and the Church of the people in Ireland were almost as much separated from each other, by difference in race, language, political feeling, and even ecclesiastical discipline, as they have been at any period since by differences in creeds. The attempt made by the Synod of Cashel in that year (19 Edw. III.) to assimilate the Irish Church in its rites and discipline to that of England entirely failed of its object, and the native clergy and people continued to follow their own ecclesiastical rules as if the decrees of that memorable synod had never been issued. Disheartening as may be some of the conclusions too plainly deducible from this fact, it clearly shows at least that the establishment of the Reformed Church in that kingdom was not the first or sole cause of the bitter hostility between the two races.”—*Moore, History of Ireland*, Vol. iii. p. 114.

Monday after the Octaves of Easter, at the Hogges, near College Green, in Dublin. The coincidence, in point of time, of the proceedings against Duff with those instituted against Dame Alice Kyteler, mentioned in Vol. I. p. 337, seems to mark a distinct epoch, both as regards opinions and facts. The reverend editor of *Grace's Annals*, published by the Archæological Society of Ireland, notices two other proceedings for heresy, in the years 1344 and 1377.

At the period of the Reformation the Pope drew a considerable revenue from the Church of Ireland,\* under the head of first fruits, primitiæ, or annates; that is, the *first* year's profit of every ecclesiastical benefice or promotion in the kingdom; and also the tax known as the "Twentieth Parts," which was the twentieth part of *every* year's profit of every ecclesiastical benefice or promotion. These, according to Howard (*Treatise of Exchequer*, Vol. I. p. 139), were annexed to the Crown by the Act 28 Henry VIII. c. 8. Queen Anne released the twentieth parts to the bishops by patent, and granted the first fruits, then amounting to £450 a year, also by patent, to trustees for building and repairing churches. The latter property has since been made the subject of different Acts of Parliament, beginning with the Act 2 Geo. I. c. 15, and ending with the Church Temporalities Act of 1833.

One short session of the Irish Parliament, so short as to have sat only a few weeks, sufficed to sweep away the measures, set on foot by Queen Mary, for restoring the Church of Rome,

\* The tax-rolls of the Church of Ireland appear to have been regularly kept at Rome from about the year 1220, when, according to Wakefield, the sees were as follow:—

The archbishopric of Armagh comprised the bishoprics of Connor, Down, Louth, Clonard, Kells, Ardagh, Raphoe, Rathlure, Duleek, and Derry.

The archbishopric of Tuam comprised the bishoprics of Mayo, Killala, Roscommon, Clonfert, Achonry, Clonmacnois, and Kilmacduagh.

The archbishopric of Dublin comprised the bishoprics of Glendalough, Ferns, Ossory, Leighlin, and Kildare.

The archbishopric of Cashel comprised the bishoprics of Killaloe, Limerick, Inniscalty, Kilfenora, Emly, Roscrea, Waterford, Lismore, Cloyne, Cork, Ross, and Ardfert.



and to place in its stead the Reformed Religion as the ecclesiastical establishment of the state in Ireland.

In the year 1615 there was held in Dublin the convocation, at which, amongst other things, the confession of faith for the Irish Church was drawn up by Dr. James Usher. This elaborate document, containing, as already mentioned (Vol. I. p. 344), no less than 144 Articles, included the nine Articles which had been agreed to at Lambeth in the year 1595, and disapproved by Elizabeth and by James. The whole nevertheless was now adopted by the Irish clergy, and ratified by the Lord Deputy. But it was not destined to remain unchanged for any length of time. The Churches of England and Ireland were to be united; and this was effected in the course of a few years by a compromise not very creditable to the conscientious spirit of either of the contending parties. The particulars are fully related by Leland (Vol. III. p. 28). The object sought was the establishment, in Ireland, of the English articles and canons; but these were opposed, in many important respects, to Usher's articles, which constituted the doctrine and discipline of the Puritans. The affair was managed by a sort of underhand compromise. The former articles, though not formally repealed, were nevertheless effectually set aside by a new collection of canons, which omitted those of a Puritanical cast. Usher was an assenting party to this mortifying arrangement; and we are told that, though many of the clergy condemned it in their hearts, only one of them had the courage to give utterance to his dissent in the convocation.

At this period, and for a long time before as well as after it, the revenues of the Church continued nearly the same in point of law. In point of fact, however, they were for a considerable interval indefinitely uncertain. No other property in the country was more injuriously affected by the vicissitudes of war and the religious innovations of the seventeenth century. Notice has already been taken of the provisions made at the time of the invasion for increasing the property of the Church. The tithe of animals, corn, and other produce, was then

granted by the Council of Cashel. This was independent of, or rather in addition to, the lands previously possessed by the clergy under the Brehon law. A few years later the Council of Dublin superadded the tithe of provisions, hay, flax, wool, the young of animals, and the produce of gardens and orchards.

It is far out of the order of time, though not of the subject, to add here, that no attempt was made to increase this liberal provision until the year 1735, when the clergy of the Established Church sought to enforce a tithe on pasture lands and cattle. But the Irish House of Commons defeated the effort by resolving, amongst other things, that the allotments of glebes and known tithes, with other ecclesiastical emoluments ascertained before this new demand was made, afforded an honourable and plentiful provision for the clergy.\* This has generally been regarded as the vote of a predominant class. It exempted from taxation the demesnes and feeding grounds in the occupation of the landlord to the manifest oppression of his tenants, the poorer tillers of grain upon smaller possessions. So much were the great proprietors afraid that the Church, upon the consolidation of the two legislatures, would re-assert and carry its pretensions in this matter, that they insisted, before they voted the union, upon the passing of an act declaring this tithe illegal.

With the period of the Reformation we begin the history of several new religions in Ireland. The Puritans, Presbyterians, Quakers, and others now obtained a footing in the country, as opportunity and zeal favoured their respective enterprises, and proceeded to lay those foundations which have since been improved into permanent settlements. If it were necessary to relate the different events connected with the subject-matter

\* One resolution passed by the House of Commons on this occasion is peculiarly expressive of the sort of spirit which Irishmen are remarkable for occasionally throwing into the prosecution of business; it was, "that any lawyer assisting in a prosecution for tithes of agistments should be considered an enemy to his country."—*Wakefield*, Vol. II. p. 429.

of this chapter exactly according to the order of the time at which they actually took place, some ill-connected digressions would now have to be entered into for the purpose of noticing the circumstances under which each of these bodies was introduced and made way amongst the people. But such a course would be tedious and inconvenient. It is therefore proposed to bring this sketch of the Church established by law to a close ; and after having shown in detail what is the present state of that institution, then to take up the other settled religions in succession, and give a short account of the progress and condition of each, with those statistics which mark the extent of their popularity and their resources respectively ;—so that a fair review may in the end be taken of the manner in which the law has provided for the general benefit and good government of the country in that most essential of all particulars—the religious satisfaction of the people.

If we except the passing of occasional acts of parliament for the better maintenance of the clergy, which included the making of money grants for their churches and glebes, and for regulating the union and division of parishes, there is nothing, except the memorable tithe point of 1735 already spoken of, to be found worthy of particular notice in the history of the Established Church in Ireland until the political union of the two countries followed, at so long a distance of time, the union of the two Established Churches.

The Act of Union itself contained two important provisions relating to the Church. By the fourth article four Irish bishops have seats by rotation in the House of Peers. By the fifth article the continuance and preservation of the united Church of England and Ireland is deemed and declared to be an essential and fundamental part of the union for ever.

The union had no sooner taken place than public attention began to settle fixedly upon the anomalous state of the Irish Church. Observing men in England, even more pointedly than in Ireland, were to be seen marking the Establishment as one that demanded not a few searching and radical corrections. The oppressiveness of Irish tithes had been exposed with



terrible force by Grattan, but without any legislative effect. A strong feeling of sympathy now began to extend itself to the question in England.

Mr. Wakefield's account of Ireland, published in the year 1812, made out the first strong case against the excessive wealth and the inconsiderable services returned for that wealth by the hierarchy to the people. Some writers have occasionally attempted to underrate the value of that laborious and able work—to represent the leading statements and statistics contained in it as mistaken and exaggerated, and the author's views and recommendations as erroneous and empirical in many essential particulars. But no well-educated or liberal-minded man can examine Mr. Wakefield's volumes without perceiving how copious and how new was the body of information he brought together—how diligently and successfully he pursued his researches—how candid and reasonable is the tone of his mind and writings—and how much superior his volumes are in point of quality, varied detail, and practical tendency, to every thing that had previously appeared in print relating to Irish affairs.\*

The constitution of the established church, as given by Mr. Wakefield, principally from Dr. Beaufort's Memoir, consisted at that period of four archbishops and twenty-seven dioceses, administered by eighteen bishops. The list of these is worth reprinting on account of the striking evidence it affords of the

\* One benefit resulting from Mr. Wakefield's exposition of the state of religion and its establishments ought to be gratefully acknowledged by the friends of the Established Church. He found eleven archbishops and bishops the brothers of peers, and he published their names. That exposure put a stop to the practice of allowing the magnates of the nobility to force, by the pressure of political influence, their nearest connections into the highest and most profitable offices of the Church.

Then as to the charges of exaggeration and inconsistency—when his figures are compared with those which have more recently resulted from extensive official inquiries, our wonder is that the industry of a private individual could have sufficed to approach so near the mark. For instance, Wakefield estimated the amount of the incomes of the archbishops and bishops at £125,000 a-year. In the Session of 1833 Lord Althorp, speaking upon the authority of official information, set them down at £150,000 a-year. So that Wakefield was within £25,000 of the right sum, and not over, but under it. Where was the exaggeration there?

progress made in consolidating bishoprics, as the number of Protestants happened to decrease after the Reformation.

<i>The Archbishop of Armagh</i> had as suffragans—		A.D.
The Bishop of Clogher, founded		1152
„ Dromore, originally founded by St. Colman, who is supposed by Harris to have died in 610, and refounded by James I.*		
„ Down and Connor united.		1454
„ Derry.		1458
„ Kilmore, formerly Brefny.		1301
„ Meath.		1200
„ Raphoe and Ardagh, now united to Tuam.		1152

*The Archbishop of Dublin* had as suffragans—

		A.D.	
The Bishop of Ferns and Leighlin,	} 1600	{ Ferns, founded in	598
united in			632
„ Kildare.	500		
„ Ossory.	500		
„ Glendalough, united	} 1214		
with Dublin.			

*The Archbishop of Cashel* had as suffragans—

		A.D.	
The Bishop of Cloyne.	600		
„ Cork and Ross united.	1586	Cork, founded	700
„ Killaloe and Kilfenora	} 1752	{ Killaloe.	500
united.			1200
„ Limerick, Ardferit and	} 1663	{ Limerick.	1301
Aghadoe united.			500
„ Waterford and Lismore	} 1536	{ Waterford.	1100
united.			700

*The Archbishop of Tuam* had as suffragans—

		A.D.	
The Bishop of Clonfert and Kil-	} 1602	{ Clonfert	600
macduagh united.			700
„ Elphin.	450		
„ Killala and Achonry	} 660	{ Killala.	450
united.			550

To the archbishoprick of Cashel, which was made in 1152, was added, or, as it is termed, united, the bishoprick of Emly in 1568.

To Tuam was united Ardagh in 1741.

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\* James granted to this see a great many uncommon privileges, the bishops being styled by divine *providence*, whereas all the rest are by divine goodness.

Wakefield exhibited the patronage of the Irish Church in the following extract from Dr. Beaufort :—

Bishopricks.	Number of Parishes.	Number in the gift of the Bishop.	In the gift of the Crown.	Others.		Inappropriate, and without churches or Incumbents.
				Lay.	University.	
Armagh,	103	60	13	22	5	—
Dublin,	209	144	15	16	—	—
Tuam and Ardagh, }	89	79	—	10	—	—
Cashel,	No Statement made of the Patronage.					
Clogher,	41	34	1	2	4	—
Dromore,	26	23	—	2	—	—
Down and Connor, }	114	53	12	36	—	10
Derry,	48	33	3	9	3	—
Kilmore,	39	33	3	2	1	—
Meath,	224	69	81	37	—	35
		and the Deanery.				
Raphoe,	31	15	6	3	7	—
Ferns and Leighlin, }	232	171	18	19	1	13
Kildare,	81	30	27	24	—	—
Ossory,	136	76	26	30	—	—
Cloyne,	137	106	10	9	—	11
		and one held with the Bishoprick in commendam.				
Cork and Ross, }	127	94	8	—	—	—
Killaloe and Kilfenora, }	138	131	10	36	—	17
Limerick, Ardfert & Aghadoe, }	176	34	27	65	—	—
Waterford and Lisamore, }	106	43	24	30	—	9
Clonfert and Kilmacduagh, }	60	43	3	14	—	—
Elphin,	75	72	2	1	—	—
Killala and Achonry.	52	48	4	—	—	—
	2244	1391	293	367	21	95



It has already been stated that the Church in Ireland, as in England, had its board of first fruits ; but there, as here, the amount contributed to it by the clergy was small, only £3000 a year. When that state of things became matter of note in Parliament soon after the union, liberal treatment, as usual, awaited the Church. "More was accomplished," says Wakefield, "with the money obtained within the last five years than had been effected in the preceding fifty." A Commons' Return, printed April 25, 1811, furnished some large items to corroborate this opinion.

Gifts for building churches between May, 1801, and January 5, 1811 . . . . .		£76,070
Loans for ditto . . . . .		59,122
Gifts for purchasing glebes . . . . .		20,403
Ditto for building glebe houses . . . . .		60,342
Loans for building glebe houses . . . . .		112,180
		<hr/>
		£328,117

From this period for many years excitement was kept up, and inquiries were instituted respecting tithes and various other matters connected with the state of religion in Ireland ; but nothing was essayed of a substantive or enduring character, until we meet the session of 1825, when a bill was introduced for the payment of the Roman Catholic clergy. That proposal was affirmed in the House of Commons by a majority of 43 votes, but withdrawn upon the loss of the greater measure of Catholic Emancipation. There were measures enacted, which failed of the desired effect, for establishing tithe-compositions. In the year 1826 Mr. Plunkett, then Attorney-General for Ireland, carried an Irish Church Rate Bill, but it was a fruitless labour, and unworthy of the fame of its author, for it tended to allay no portion of the discontent naturally aroused by so unreasonable an imposition. With the year 1829 came the long-delayed, but ever memorable, Act of Roman Catholic Emancipation—saving, as was to be expected, the rights and ascendancy of the Protestant Church, but placing that Establishment, in a moral and political point of view, upon a footing very different from any it had previously occupied.

In point of fact, the concession of the Roman Catholic claims rendered some reform of the Established Church inevitable. For a time that just and decent labour was delayed, owing to the stir and pressure of more imperious events. But when the House of Commons itself became reformed, and its benches were filled by an overwhelming majority, pledged to carry on the legislation of the empire in the spirit which had produced that most celebrated of all our modern Acts of Parliament, it was no longer possible to withhold a measure for improving the condition of the Church in Ireland. Accordingly, on the 12th of February, 1833, Lord Althorp undertook to explain the views of government upon the subject, and to develop a plan for giving them effect.

On this occasion Lord Althorp stated that there were twenty-two dioceses in Ireland, or four archbishoprics and eighteen bishoprics. The gross amount of the revenues of these sees was then estimated to be £150,000, producing, after deducting the expenses of collection, £130,000 net. Of this sum, about £100,000 arose from the rents of lands. The whole revenue of the deans and chapters was £23,600; burdened with a necessary expenditure amounting to £21,400, and leaving a remainder for the deans and chapters of £2200. The number of the other benefices was 1401, the whole income of which, as nearly as could be ascertained from returns then incomplete, was about £580,000, or at most, £600,000. The entire net revenue of the Irish Church, therefore, was put as follows:—

Revenue of bishops' sees . . . . .	£130,000
Revenue of deans and chapters, as such . . . . .	2200
Revenue of other benefices . . . . .	600,000

Total £732,200

or, allowing for possible omissions, the whole was taken as not exceeding £800,000.

Upon this amount of revenue ministers proposed to levy, instead of first fruits, an amount of tax which should be just, but not burthensome—that is, instead of the whole amount of the income for one year, to lay on a percentage, or portion, in every year, varying from five to

fifteen per cent.; livings under £200 a year paying nothing, those of more value paying not only a larger sum, but a larger rate; and, where several benefices were in the hands of one individual, the aggregate amount of the whole being taken as his living, so that, however small his preferments might be separately, he should pay the high rate appropriate to his total revenue. The incomes of the bishops were to be subjected to this tax as well as those of the inferior clergy; but in the case of the former it was not to be levied upon any that did not amount to £4000 a year; all of that amount were to pay five per cent.; those between £4000 and £6000, seven per cent.; those between £6000 and £10,000, ten per cent.; those between £10,000 and £15,000, twelve per cent.; and if there should be any above the last-mentioned amount they were to pay fifteen per cent. This tax was to be imposed immediately, upon the actual incumbents of the several sees and other livings; and the income of the bishopric of Derry was besides to suffer an immediate reduction from £12,659 to £8000, which the proposed tax would further reduce to £7200.

The tax thus imposed, was calculated to produce about £69,000 a year; the management of which was to be given to a Board of Commissioners, consisting of members of the Established Church, so appointed as to be entirely independent of the Government. They were to apply it, and the other funds committed to their administration, to the following objects: the augmentation of poor livings, the building of glebe-houses, the dividing of unions, and the building of new churches, whenever a certain portion of the expense shall be subscribed by private individuals. A fund being thus provided for these purposes, the tax commonly called the vestry-process, or church-rates, was to be immediately and entirely abolished; and a strong cause of popular dissatisfaction and irritation connected with the present condition of the Irish Church was to cease. Lord Althorp estimated the pecuniary relief thus conferred upon the people at not much short of £90,000 per annum.

The next proposition aimed a strong blow against an aggra-



vated abuse. The principal part of the incomes of the bishops, as already stated, arose from lands attached to their sees; but the revenue, however, drawn from that source seldom came to them in the shape of rents. Bishops were prohibited by law from leasing any land belonging to their sees for a longer period than twenty-one years; they might, however, at any time grant a lease for the whole of that period. The bishop naturally looked to his own advantage—the law did not allow him to sell the lands, but as he might die, or be translated, or rents might fall, he did what came nearest to selling—he let the lands of his see on the longest lease which it was in his power to grant, and he anticipated as much as possible of the fair rental for that period by taking it from the tenant, in the shape of what is called a premium or fine. Of course, the higher the fine the lower the rent. He who made such a bargain had his share of the profits of this transaction in the fine; the reduced rent was the share of his successor.

But the process did not stop here; the original twenty-one years' lease was constantly kept up for that term, or as nearly to it as possible. At the end of every year, or at least of every two years, the tenant would resign his old lease, having only a period of twenty or of nineteen years to run, and receive from the bishop another for twenty-one years from that time as before, on paying another fine for the extension. And thus it happened that the actual income of the bishop was in almost all cases made up partly of his rents, and partly also of those annual or biennial fines.

The system thus acted upon had other disadvantages which it is unnecessary to exhibit here—its general tendency being too plainly to reduce to a material extent the productive value of the estates for all immediate purposes. One plain statement disposed of all detailed argument upon the subject:—

While the estimated value of these lands was about £600,000 per annum, the bishops, by means of fines and rents together, did not derive from them more than £100,000 a year. To correct this evil, Lord Althorp proposed that as the value of one of the leases to the tenant, supposing him to pay a fixed

corn-rent equivalent to what he then paid partly in the form of rent and partly in that of fine, was not less than twelve years and a half's purchase, that is, than twelve and a half times the remainder of the estimated yearly value of the land—his lease, if instead of being only for twenty-one years it were to be made perpetual, would be thereby increased in point of value only by about seven and a half year's purchase, or that number of times the estimated yearly value. It was therefore proposed to give to every tenant the power of converting his present lease into a perpetual one, by paying for the additional benefit a sum of money somewhat less than it has thus been calculated to be worth, or six years of the estimated value instead of seven and a half. Taking this yearly value upon the whole church lands, according to the statement given above, at £500,000, the sum thus to be raised would be about £3,000,000 sterling. And Lord Althorp on behalf of the Government proposed that this money should be applied as Parliament might deem expedient.

So far the plan admitted of immediate operation. But it embraced prospective reforms equally beneficial in their character. On the death of the Archbishop of Armagh, the income of his see was to fall from its present amount of about £14,500 to £10,000. As the actual possessors also of the other sees died out or were removed, the archbishoprics of Tuam and Cashel were to be converted into bishoprics, and the following ten sees were to be entirely abolished: namely, Dromore, Clogher, Raphoe, Elphin, Clonfert, Killala, Kildare, Cork, and Waterford. The saving arising from these reductions was estimated at £60,000 a year, with which it was also proposed that the legislature should deal as it might think fit. Finally, all deans and chapters, where they had no duties to perform, were to be abolished altogether, or to be attached to cures; and in regard to parochial charges, the Board of Commissioners already mentioned were to have the power of suspending the appointment of ministers in all cases in which no duty had been performed for the space of three years past.

This Act—it was entitled, An Act to alter and amend the

Laws relating to the Temporalities of the Church in Ireland—passed the House of Lords, June 30, 1833, by a majority of 135 to 81; and without any amendments of importance being introduced during its progress. It was accompanied by another statute most acceptable to the clergy; by which a loan of £1,000,000 sterling was advanced to such of the body as had been unable to obtain payment of their tithes; and further means were proposed for making such tithe compositions permanent, as had been entered into under the provisions of the three Tithe Acts passed in the preceding reign.

But the Gordian knot which enveloped the question of Irish tithes was not yet untied or even loosened. In the session of 1834 Mr. Littleton, the Irish Secretary, brought forward a bill for their compulsory and permanent commutation. It was decidedly opposed, but carried on the second reading by a large majority—248 to 52; when the introduction of Mr. Ward's bolder proposition, for dealing with the property of the Church, followed by Mr. Littleton's retirement from office, in consequence of an altercation with Mr. O'Connell, had the effect of postponing to another year all pending attempts to legislate upon the subject.

As soon as the session of 1835 opened, Irish tithes figured conspicuously in the King's speech. "Among the first of many important subjects," said his Majesty, "in point of urgency, is the state of the tithe question in Ireland, and the means of effecting an equitable and final adjustment of it." The bill of the preceding year was accordingly reproduced with some amendments, but all interest and excitement, public and parliamentary, relating to the Church in Ireland, was almost immediately afterwards transferred to the larger question opened by Lord John Russell, who moved, and, after long and very animated debates,\* carried the two following resolutions in the House of Commons, April 4th and 7th:—

\* There were three debates and three divisions upon this subject. The first motion was for a Committee of the whole House to consider of the temporalities of the Church of Ireland. After three nights' debate this was carried.—Ayes 322, Noes 289.

On the 6th, the debate on the appropriation resolution having been



“April 4. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee that any surplus which may remain, after fully providing for the spiritual instruction of the members of the Established Church in Ireland, ought to be applied to the general education of all Christians.”

“April 7. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this House that no measure upon the subject of tithes in Ireland can lead to a satisfactory and final adjustment which does not embody the principle contained in the foregoing resolution.”

It is worthy of passing note that the appropriation principle, as it now came to be termed, had already been submitted to the House of Commons by Mr. O’Connell, as well as by Mr. Ward. Mr. O’Connell’s motion in its favour was lost only the year before. He wished to apply the surplus to purposes of public utility.\* Lord John now fixed upon a particular purpose—education.

The Irish Church having thus forced Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington out of office, it became Lord Morpeth’s duty, as Irish Secretary, to bring forward a new measure in the month of July. The importance of the proposition now set up, the long discussions it led to, the full body of information brought forward to sustain it, and the effect it may yet be destined to produce in some better form upon the fortune of the Establishment demand a particular and detailed account of this Bill. It consisted of 101 clauses, and was entitled a “Bill for the better Regulation of Ecclesiastical Revenues, and the Promotion of Religious and Moral Instruction in Ireland.”

The preamble and the clauses which originated new matter were as follow :—

adjourned from the 4th, the numbers were, for the resolution 262, against it 237.

On the 7th there appeared for the motion 285, against it 258.

\* Mr. O’Connell’s resolution was expressed in these terms :—“That after any funds which should be raised in Ireland, in lieu of tithes, had been so appropriated as to provide suitably, considering vested interests and spiritual wants, for the Protestants of the Established Church of Ireland, the surplus that remained should be appropriated to the purposes of public utility.”

The preamble adverted to the various acts passed for the establishment of compositions for tithes throughout Ireland without rendering the incomes arising from that source certain in amount and easy of collection—it next recited that a commission had been issued on the 5th of August preceding for inquiring whether adequate provision is now made for the religious instruction and for the general education of the people of Ireland—and that it appeared by the first report of the commissioners that in some parishes there were few members of the Established Church, and in other parishes no such members—and then it proceeded:—“And whereas it is just and necessary for the establishment of peace and good order in Ireland, and conducive to religion and morality, that after adequate provision made for the spiritual wants of the members of the Established Church, the surplus income of such parishes shall be applied to the moral and religious education of the people, without distinction of religious persuasion; and also that the said compositions for tithes shall be made payable by persons having a perpetual estate or interest in the lands subject thereto, a reasonable deduction being made upon the amount thereof, in consideration of the greater facility and security of collection arising out of such transfer of the liability to the payment thereof, from the occupying tenantry to the owners of such estates or interests.”

Passing over the composition clauses, as presenting no matter of new interest, we come to the proposal relating to the one million sterling advanced for the relief of owners of tithes, by the Act of 1833 (3 & 4 Will. IV. c. 100). None of those to whom any part of that money had been advanced were to be called upon for its repayment; and so much of the money as had not yet been paid away was to pass into the hands of the ecclesiastical commissioners, who were to apply it to the relief of such tithe owners as might not have received payment of their compositions for 1834, and should memorialize the Lord Lieutenant for relief.

The changes proposed in the establishment of the Irish Church next invite attention.

The first case provided for was that of parishes containing, according to the Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry, not more than fifty members of the Established Church. In every such parish it was proposed that no appointment to the living should be made until the Lord Lieutenant should think fit so to direct. In the mean time the church was to be deemed to be sequestered, and for that period it was to remain vacant, all the profits and emoluments of it being vested in and received by the ecclesiastical commissioners as sequestrators. If there should be no members of the Established Church in the parish, the occasional ecclesiastical duties were to be performed by the incumbent of some adjoining parish, nominated by the ordinary, and bound to perform such duties. If there were any members of the Established Church at all in the parish, the ecclesiastical commissioners were to direct either that the duties should be performed by the incumbent of some adjoining parish, or that a separate curate should be nominated and licensed by the ordinary for that purpose.

A separate curate was to be appointed in all parishes, having a place of worship duly consecrated, and a resident officiating minister. Where there were no members of the Established Church in the parish, the neighbouring incumbent, to whom the duties were to be committed, was to receive from the ecclesiastical commissioners an annual stipend of five pounds; and where there were some members, his stipend was to vary from ten to fifty pounds, according as the commissioners, having regard to the extent of the duties he might have to perform, should fix with the consent and approbation of the Lord Lieutenant. When a separate curate was appointed, he was to have a stipend not exceeding one hundred pounds, nor exceeding the net annual value of the existing profits and emoluments of the living. Where there was a glebe house, he was to be allowed to occupy it, on undertaking to keep it in repair; and where there was a glebe, the commissioners, if they thought proper, might allot to him, in addition to his salary, a portion of it not exceeding the annual value of twenty-five pounds.

Where there were any members of the Established Church



in a sequestered parish, there being in such parish no place of worship duly consecrated, it was proposed that the ecclesiastical commissioners should apply a sum not exceeding a hundred pounds, or pay a rent not exceeding fifteen pounds, towards building or providing some suitable place for the celebration of divine worship. The bishop of the diocese was always to be associated with the commissioners in determining upon the best mode of carrying these objects into effect, and was to vote upon all questions relating thereto as if he were a commissioner. In cases where no curate was appointed, or where the curate did not desire to occupy the glebe house, the commissioners might demise or let it and the glebe lands for the period of the sequestration. All charges affecting suppressed benefices were to be paid off by the commissioners from the profits and emoluments of the living; and they might recover from any incumbent, or his executors or administrators, all such sums as his successor in the living would have had a claim for.

The next set of clauses related to the separation of unions of parishes, in each of which the members of the Established Church did not exceed fifty in number. It was provided that the commissioners might, if they thought proper, disunite such parishes on the next avoidance of the union; and then each was to be dealt with in all respects as a single parish. And if it should not appear expedient to the commissioners to disunite the parishes, the Lord Lieutenant might order the income of the next incumbent to be reduced, in proportion to what should appear to be the extent of the duty to be performed. This enactment referred, as has been stated, only to such united parishes as should contain in each no more than fifty members of the Established Church. But by clause 72 it was directed, that wherever any parish, or part of a parish, comprised in any union, was not contiguous to some other parish or part of a parish comprised in such union, such detached parish should, upon the next vacancy in the living, be disunited from the rest. Some regulations followed respecting cases arising out of these provisions. In future no union of parishes was to be made by any archbishop or bishop

without one month's previous notice being given to the commissioners.

Clause 76 related to cases where no appointment had been made to a parish under the provision in the Act of 3 & 4 Will. IV. c. 37, authorizing the commissioners to suspend such appointment in consequence of divine worship not having been celebrated in the parish for a period of three years:—there if the parish was one containing not more than fifty members of the Established Church, the emoluments of the benefice were not to be applied to the purposes in the former act mentioned, but were to vest in the ecclesiastical commissioners as sequestrators under this Act.

By clause 77, wherever the income enjoyed by the incumbent of any parish or union exceeded £300, the commissioners, on the next vacancy, were to make inquiry into the case, and on their report the Lord Lieutenant might, if he should think proper, reduce the income to any extent, so that it should still not be below £300.

Clause 82 was the celebrated Appropriation Clause. It enacted, that the ecclesiastical commissioners should keep a separate account of all such sums or payments as should accrue to them under the operation of the Act, to be called the "Reserve Fund;" and that the moneys so arising should be applicable, in the first place, to the expenses attendant upon the revision of the memorials of persons applying for relief in respect of tithes due and unpaid for the last year; in the next place to the payment of such sums as should, under the provisions of this Act, become payable to such applicants; "and, in the third place, to the payments of the stipends assigned under the provisions relating to the curates or ministers intrusted with the cure of souls, or the performance of ecclesiastical duties; and to the provision of places of worship in parishes where the churches might have been sequestered; and to the payment of the charges and other sums payable under provisions proposed in respect of such parishes; and to the payment of the annual tax, and any other sums which would have been payable by the incumbents thereof, if the same had not been sequestered; and to the payment of any

crown rents, corn-rents, pensions and salaries to diocesan schoolmasters, or glebe rents, or proportion thereof, to be fixed and determined as hereinbefore provided; and to the payment of the expenses to be incurred in carrying this Act into execution; and the residue of such moneys from time to time accruing in each year to the credit of the said commissioners in the said Reserve Fund account, was to be paid to such persons as the said Lord Lieutenant should, by warrant under his hand, authorize to receive the same, to be applied to the moral and religious instruction of all classes of the people, without distinction of religious persuasion."

After an animated and well-fought contest in the Commons the bill passed to the Lords, and came on for discussion in committee August 24. On this occasion the opposition was led by Lord Ellenborough, who stated that he and his friends would resist the Appropriation Clause, but would lend their aid to make the rest of the measure as perfect as possible. Acting upon this view of the case, the Tories divided the house repeatedly; and having been decidedly successful in every instance, the numbers on the principal division, being 138 to 41, Lord Melbourne subsequently declared that he did not propose to proceed with the measure after it had been thus mutilated.

But though the bill was lost, new streams of light had been thrown upon the subject from different quarters, which produced the most useful and satisfactory effects. The commissions which were then proceeding contributed information for the debate which placed many points, previously disputed, beyond the pale of further controversy. The true state of the Irish Church was now placed before the public with correct details. The number of its benefices, their value, and the number of the members of the establishment, compared with those worshipping in other churches—all were set forth from authority; and they cleared away, almost instantaneously, a mass of confusion and uncertainty by which all former discussions of the subject had been encumbered and obscured.

The Irish Church then stood as follows:—



PROVINCE OF ARMAGH.*	Number of Benefices consisting of			Total Number of	PROVINCE OF ARMAGH.	POPULATION IN 1834.				
	a single Parish, or part of a Parish.	two or more contiguous Parishes.	two or more Parishes, or parts of Parishes not contiguous.			Established Church.	Roman Catholics.	Presbyterians.	Other Protestant Dissenters.	Total in Parish.
Diocese of Armagh . . .	74	11	3	88	Diocese of Armagh . . .	103,012	309,447	84,837	3,340	500,636
" Clogher . . .	45	..	..	45	" Clogher . . .	104,359	260,241	34,623	26	399,249
" Meath . . .	58	40	7	105	" Meath . . .	25,626	377,562	672	199	404,059
" Down . . .	28	8	1	37	" Down . . .	27,662	58,405	98,961	3,530	188,558
" Connor . . .	32	10	5	47	" Connor . . .	66,888	95,545	193,261	5,924	361,618
" Derry . . .	55	2	..	57	" Derry . . .	50,350	196,614	118,339	1,738	367,041
" Raphoe . . .	32	2	..	34	" Raphoe . . .	33,507	145,385	28,914	24	207,830
" Kilmore . . .	30	8	..	38	" Kilmore . . .	46,879	240,593	8,736	97	296,305
" Dromore . . .	24	1	..	25	" Dromore . . .	41,737	76,275	69,264	933	188,209
" Ardagh . . .	18	8	..	26	" Ardagh . . .	17,702	195,056	466	12	213,236
Total in Province . . .	396	90	16	502	Total in Province . . .	517,722	1,955,123	638,073	15,823	3,126,741

PROVINCE OF DUBLIN.	Number of Benefices consisting of			Total Number of	PROVINCE OF DUBLIN.	POPULATION IN 1834.				
	a single Parish, or part of a Parish.	two or more contiguous Parishes.	two or more Parishes, or parts of Parishes not contiguous.			Established Church.	Roman Catholics.	Presbyterians.	Other Protestant Dissenters.	Total in Parish.
Diocese of Dublin . . .	26	38	1	95	Diocese of Dublin . . .	106,599	391,006	2,290	2,082	501,977
" Kildare . . .	21	16	4	41	" Kildare . . .	13,907	120,056	9	384	134,356
" Ferns . . .	33	30	4	57	" Ferns . . .	24,672	172,789	19	300	197,780
" Leighlin . . .	39	17	..	56	" Leighlin . . .	20,391	169,982	191	288	190,852
" Ossory . . .	55	14	13	62	" Ossory . . .	12,361	209,848	8	108	222,325
Total in Province . . .	174	115	22	311	Total in Province . . .	177,930	1,063,681	2,517	3,162	1,247,290

\* These Tables are taken from an Abstract, published in 1835, by Mr. Hamilton, one of the Ecclesiastical Inquiry Commissioners.

\* These Tables are taken from an Abstract, published in 1835, by Mr. Hamilton, one of the Ecclesiastical Inquiry Commissioners.



Number of Benefices consisting of				Total Number of		POPULATION IN 1834.					
SUMMARY.	a single Parish, or part of a Parish.	two or more con-tiguous Parishes, or parts of Parishes.	two or more Pa-rishes, or parts of Parishes not con-tiguous.	Benefices.	Pa-rishes.	SUMMARY.	Esa-blished Church.	Roman Catholics.	Presby-terians.	Other Protest-ant Dis-senters.	Total in Parish.
Province of Armagh .	396	90	16	502	658	Province of Armagh .	517,722	1,955,123	638,073	15,823	3,126,741
" Dublin .	174	115	22	311	624	" Dublin .	177,930	1,063,681	2,517	3,162	1,247,290
" Cashel .	301	132	36	469	791	" Cashel* .	111,813	2,220,340	966	2,454	2,335,573
" Tuam .	36	54	13	103	275	" Tuam .	44,599	1,188,568	800	369	1,234,336
Total in Ireland .	907	391	87	1,355	2,348	Total Pop. of Ireland	852,064	6,427,712	642,356	21,808	7,943,940

\* The benefice of Kilcooley in this province, which contains 612 members of the Established Church, and 8296 Roman Catholics, should be added to the above enumeration.

[illegible]

\* One benefice omitted in the First Report, but introduced in the Appendix, should be added to this.



Meantime the unsettled state of the question continued to involve disastrous consequences. The tithe war in Ireland was prosecuted with unabated violence on both sides. The clergy, deprived of their incomes, appealed to the law; the people resisted the tribunals with desperate spirit; blood was shed; deaths followed; and the case of the belligerent Church still exhibited, as of old, a hideous aspect in every point of view.\*

The King's speech for the session of 1836 was more than usually fertile in Irish topics and The Church headed the group. "I trust," said his Majesty, "that you will be able to effect a just settlement of the question of tithes in Ireland upon such principles as will tend, at length, to establish harmony and peace in that country."

On the 25th of May, Lord Morpeth explained the views which, upon a further consideration of the question, it was

\* The newspapers of the period report a variety of particulars which fully bear out this statement:—December 3, 1835. A meeting was held at the Freemasons' Tavern for the purpose of raising funds for the support of such clergymen of the Established Church in Ireland as are distressed by the non-payment of their tithes. The Archbishop of Canterbury was in the chair, and the meeting was addressed by the chairman, the Bishop of London, Lord Radstock, Sir R. Inglis, and others. The King sent a donation of £500; the Queen, £100; and nearly £12,000 were stated by the Bishop of London to have been subscribed up to the close of the meeting.

January, 1836.—During this month there has been more than one tithe affray in Ireland, attended with loss of life. The Rev. W. Beresford had employed his usual process-server, a man named Hudson, to serve tithe notices on the peasantry. Hudson was accompanied by five or six armed bailiffs; the motions of the party quickly attracted the country people, and they were hooted as they passed along. This provoked Hudson to such a degree that he threatened to shoot any of those whom he discovered annoying him in his avocations. His threat excited a fresh outpouring of contempt; upon which Hudson fired, and shot one of their number. The crowd then rushed in and despatched Hudson instantly. The other bailiffs made their escape. The pistols had been loaded by the Rev. Mr. Beresford, who appeared at the inquest in tears, and offered to provide for the family of Mahony, the man whom Hudson shot. Another fatal tithe affray occurred at Newton, near Charleville, Limerick county. The Rev. Mr. Bunbury was proceeding with thirty-two policemen, two sheriff's-men, and four drivers, to make a seizure for tithes. They were pelted with stones by the peasantry, when some shots were fired by the police and several persons were wounded; a man, named Sweeney, mortally.

now proposed to adopt. The present measure, as explained by his lordship, differed from the one submitted in the preceding session, principally in an arrangement by which no parochial benefice was to be altogether suppressed. It was now proposed, that in all parishes where the number of resident Protestants was below 50, the incumbent should have an income of £100; one of £200, where the number of Protestants was below 500; one of £300, where the number was below 1000; and one of £400, where the number did not exceed 3000. No parochial living would be above £500 in annual value. According to this scheme his lordship calculated that the annual remuneration to the clergy would amount to £361,938. This sum was of course to be obtained from the tithes, which it was proposed to commute into a perpetual rent-charge, payable by the owner of the first estate of inheritance, a deduction being made from the present amount of the burden to the extent of 30 per cent. This, as it was calculated, would afford a revenue of £459,550; so that the difference between the receipt and expenditure would be £97,612. The present motion being merely a preliminary to the bringing in of the bill, an assent to it would not, his lordship observed, pledge any member to the details of the measure; but he added, that the Government felt that they could not abandon the declarations or shake off the engagements they had made on entering office, and therefore they still adhered to the principle of what was called the Appropriation Clause, and should propose that if, in the future disposition of the revenues of the Irish Church, any portion of them should appear to be superfluous for the legitimate and becoming uses of the members of her community, it should, after the satisfaction of all existing interests, be applied to the religious and moral instruction of the whole Irish people. The Noble Lord concluded by moving, "That it is expedient to commute the composition of tithes in Ireland into a rent-charge, payable by the first estate of inheritance, and to make further provision for the better regulation of ecclesiastical duties." After some remarks from Sir

Robert Peel, Lord Stanley, Lord John Russell, and other honourable members, this resolution was agreed to, and leave was given to bring in a Bill founded upon it.

On this occasion Lord Morpeth vindicated the ministerial policy by adducing a number of additional documents to show the existing and prospective value of the Ecclesiastical Revenues of Ireland. These deserve attentive examination.

### I. CHURCH TEMPORALITIES ACT, 3 & 4 Will. IV. c. 37.

Revenues as at present contemplated to arise from —

1. Produce of suppressed sees .. . . .	£50,780
2. Reduction of the bishopric of Derry, immediate and prospective . . . . .	6,160
3. Future reduction of Armagh see . . . . .	4,500
4. Glebe-house loan instalments, repayable for the next fifteen years . . . . .	7,500
5. Tax on continuing bishoprics . . . . .	4,600
6. Tax on incumbents of benefices . . . . .	7,300
7. Interest at £4 per cent. on £1,050,000, to arise from a sale of perpetuities . . . . .	42,000

N.B. Of the £1,200,000 calculated to arise from sale of perpetuities by the ecclesiastical commissioners (but estimated by Mr. Finlaison, the Government actuary, to amount to £1,507,050), there has been realized and disbursed by the commissioners £150,000; but the interest of the residue thereof, amounting to £1,050,000, will, at the rate of £4 per cent., produce an annual permanent sum, as above specified.

8. Income of benefices, suspended under the non-celebration service clause, for the three years to February, 1833 . . . . .	Nil
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£122,840

### II. ACT TO ALTER AND AMEND CHURCH TEMPORALITIES ACT, 4 & 5 Will. IV. c. 90.

9. From 38 dignities, without cure, and 49 prebends, without cure of souls, after deducting the expenses of collection, and making other abatements and deductions . . . . .	8,000
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N.B. This Act provides that in the case of any person holding any dignity or office under the rank of an archbishopric or bishopric, and not having cure of souls in any parish appropriated thereto, the appointment to such dignity or office may, on the next avoidance, be suspended, which is the case of the aforesaid 38 dignities and 49 prebends.

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£130,840



Brought forward . . . £130,840

### III. THE PRESENT TITHE BILL.

10. The 77th clause saves existing interests, but vests the property belonging to minor canons and vicars choral in the ecclesiastical commissioners (some of which offices are reported by the revenue commissioners to be complete sinecures); and after providing for such of these offices as have duties, and are necessary to be upheld, authorizes the surplus arising from such estates, amounting to an entire sum of £22,624, to be carried to the general fund, which surplus is estimated to amount to . . . 4,000

11. The 79th clause provides that the sinecure tithes disappropriated from *all* dignities (having cure) may, instead of being given to the vicars or perpetual curates, if otherwise sufficiently endowed, be carried to the general fund, under the administration of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners: the revenue arising from which, after making all necessary deductions and abatements, is estimated to amount to . . . 5,300

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£139,140

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The Revenues contemplated to arise from the combined provisions of the Church Temporalities Act, the Amendment Act, and the proposed Tithe Bill, therefore, amounted to £139,140.

#### APPLICATION OF THIS REVENUE.

The charges which the foregoing fund of £139,140 was designed to meet were as follow:—

1. When the churches shall have been put into complete repair, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners report that the future repair of them will require an annual sum of . . . £25,000

Other expenses formerly defrayed by vestry cess, they state, will require . . . 35,000

2. Expenses of the Commission . . . 10,000

3. Interest on £100,000 advanced to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in way of loan at £4 per cent. . . 4,000

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£74,000

4. Building of churches, as estimated by Earl Grey . . . 20,000

5. Building of glebe-houses, as estimated by Earl Grey . . . 10,000

6. To repayment of the loan of £100,000, by annual instalments, for the next five years, of . . . 20,000

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£124,000

There will remain, therefore, to meet deficiencies in the items as above specified, which must increase as the building of churches increases, for the other objects of the Commission, and for the additional clerks which the Ecclesiastical Commissioners are authorized to employ to carry the provisions of the Tithe Bill into effect, a residue of . . . 15,140

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£139,140

By the Report of the Commissioners of Public Instruction, it appears that there are 1385 ecclesiastical benefices in Ireland at the present time; but should a new distribution of ecclesiastical benefices take place, it is proposed to reduce the number to 1250, with an average net income of £294 13s. 4d. Of these 1385 benefices there are—

Without any Protestants.	Where the Protestant Population does not exceed, or is less than				
	5 Persons.	10 Persons.	15 Persons.	20 Persons.	25 Persons.
Class I. 41	Class II. 20	Class III. 23	Class IV. 31	Class V. 23	Class VI. 27

The details of the proposed 1250 benefices, with the average amount of clerical incomes under the present Bill, are these:—there will be—

675 benefices, containing more than 50 and less than 500 Protestants, to each of which may be assigned an income of £200 arising from rent-charge, and £45 arising from 30 statute acres of glebe, valued at 30s.\* per acre; thereby making the gross income required for benefices of this class amount to—

Rent-charges	.	.	.	£135,000
Glebe lands	.	.	.	30,373

165,373

211 benefices, containing more than 500 and less than 1000 Protestants, to each of which may be assigned an income of £300 from rent-charge, and £45 from 30 statute acres of glebe, valued at 30s.\* per acre; thereby making the gross income required for benefices of this class amount to—

Rent-charges	.	.	.	£63,300
Glebe lands	.	.	.	9,495

72,795

190 benefices, containing more than 1000 and less than 3000 Protestants, to each of which may be assigned an income of £400 from rent-charge, and £45 from 30 statute acres of glebe, valued as before; thereby making the gross income required for benefices of this class amount to—

Rent-charges	.	.	.	£76,000
Glebe lands	.	.	.	8,550

84,550

Carried forward . . . £322,718

\* The value of the glebe lands is taken at 30s. per statute acre, as the glebes to be assigned the clergy will consist wholly of profitable land, rent-free, which is about the average acreable value of the profitable glebes in Ireland at present.

Brought forward . . . .	£322,718
51 benefices, containing more than 3000 Protestants, to each of which may be assigned an income of £500 from rent-charge, and £45 from 30 statute acres of glebe, valued as before; thereby making the gross income required for benefices of this class amount to—	
Rent-charges . . . .	£25,500
Glebe land . . . .	2,295
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	27,795

And if to these be added the 123 benefices, containing less than 50 Protestants; to each of which may be assigned an income of £100 from rent-charge, and £45 from 30 statute acres of glebe, valued as before; thereby making the gross income required for benefices of this class amount to—

Rent-charges . . . .	£12,300
Glebe lands . . . .	5,535
	<hr/>
	17,835

1250 benefices requiring an entire sum of . . . . £368,348  
thereby making the average net income of the 1250 benefices amount to £294 13s. 4d. per annum.\*

The unanimity with which the proposal, founded upon these documents, was received upon its first announcement did not prevail for any length of time. The old belligerents soon marched into the field, and the tug of war, as Lord Morpeth said, came on when Lord Mahon moved that clause 50 involving the appropriation scheme should be struck out of the bill. This was on the 20th of July; a protracted and violent debate ensued, ending with a majority for the clause of 290 against it 264. But its fate was again sealed in the House of Lords.

\* The following table was produced at that time, for the purpose of exhibiting what the incomes of the Irish clergy would stand at under the ministerial measure, compared with the incomes of their brethren in England, and of other clergymen in Ireland.

	Benefices.	Income.	Popu- lation.	Acres.	Square Miles.
England and Wales .	10,718	£285	1,014	3,460	5
Scotland . . . .	900	240	2,770	21,048	32
Presbyterians of Ul- ster . . . .	200	155	2,500	15,903	40
Established Church in Ireland . . .	1,250	295	681	10,000	13 to 14



The bill went into committee there July 25, when Lord Lyndhurst appeared against it. His first amendment went to substitute 25 for 30 per cent., as the deduction to be made from the existing income of tithe-owners; and that was carried, after some debate, by a majority of 126 to 48. The chief ground of contest quickly followed, namely, the appropriation clause numbered 50. For that portion of the measure, Lord Lyndhurst proposed to substitute Lord Stanley's plan, enabling the ecclesiastical commissioners to apply part of the revenues of benefices worth more than £500 a-year to the augmentation of the poorer livings. After a long debate, in which the original clause was defended by Lords Melbourne, Holland, and Clanricarde, and opposed by Lord Mansfield, the Bishop of Exeter, and Lord Winchelsea, Lord Lyndhurst's amendment was carried by a majority of 138 to 47. Lord Melbourne's language on this occasion deserves to be remembered. He declared that he and his colleagues found themselves bound in honour to adhere to the resolution of the House of Commons on which the appropriation clause was founded—that they stood on the principle of that clause—that they would not resign their places so long as they were supported, as he believed they were, by a majority of the House of Commons and of the country—and that he was of opinion that the resolution in question was not, as had been urged, indiscreet, rash, or violent; but, on the contrary, one calculated to set the question of the Irish church at rest on grounds which would be really satisfactory to the country. The great question having been thus disposed of, the remaining clauses were summarily considered, and the House adjourned.

The further progress of the bill was conducted in a new fashion. The Earl of Shaftesbury, as chairman of committees, having brought up the report in the usual form, Lord Lyndhurst rose, and gravely asked the Prime Minister if he had any objection to fix the third reading for the following Thursday. To this Lord Melbourne replied, that having already announced that if the appropriation clause were struck out, he should wash his hands of the whole measure, it would now

drop as far as he was concerned ; but of course the third reading might be fixed whenever it suited the convenience of Lord Lyndhurst. And the third reading was fixed and carried as that learned lord had proposed.

The bill having been thus strangely metamorphosed and transferred into new hands, was returned to the Commons, where Lord John Russell took the first opportunity of rejecting the altered scheme, by moving that the Lords' amendments should be taken into consideration that day three months. The terms in which, following the example of the Premier, he spoke were strong and emphatic, but wholly irreconcilable with his own and his colleagues' subsequent conduct with reference to the subject. He now declared the principle of appropriation rejected by the other house to be that which gave its chief value to the bill. As for himself and his colleagues, " We are prepared," he continued, " to stand upon that principle. We maintained that that principle was essential to a final settlement of the tithe question when we were out of office ; and if, while we are in office, the House of Commons think proper to affirm an opposite principle, amounting to a denial of that which we asserted, of course, it will be our duty to resign, and to pretend no longer to govern the council of this country." Lord J. Russell was replied to by Sir Robert Peel, who concluded his speech by moving " that the Lords' amendments be taken into consideration now." A long and highly animated debate followed, in which Lord John Russell's motion was supported by Mr. E. Denison, Mr. Hume, Mr. O'Loughlen, Mr. D. W. Harvey, and Mr. Sheil, who is reported to have spoken with dazzling brilliancy. The principal advocates of Sir Robert Peel's amendment were Lord Sandon, Sir James Graham, and Lord Stanley. The public interest, however, hung less on the debate than on the division, which gave, for the motion of Lord J. Russell 260, for Sir Robert Peel's amendment 231 ; majority for ministers of 29.

The session of 1837 was opened with the usual recommendation from the throne in favour of a settlement of the question. But it is unnecessary to relate the attempts then made

for the purpose, as the sharp conflict of parties and the king's death led to its further postponement. In the following year however, 1838, an Act was at length passed which set the matter at rest as a government question, and produced, without delay, two consequences of high value. The popular resistance to the payment of tithes so deeply mixed up with litigation, the perpetration of crime, and the shedding of blood, disappeared as if by enchantment, and the property of the Church was placed upon a footing of strength and security such as it had not been known to rest upon for many years.

The measure has worked so well that any explanation of its machinery would be uninteresting. Once a good result has been produced, mankind are singularly indifferent to the particular process by which it has been brought about. The principle of the act, or rather the material change effected by it in the law of the case was this:—tithe-compositions were converted into rent-charges, that is, compositions for tithe, which had been legalised when they were voluntarily contracted since the year 1822, were now made compulsory throughout the country, and they were also made a first charge upon the land; so that not the miserable tenant only, but the landlord became directly bound to pay them. By way of consideration for the security thus afforded to property in tithe, and the facility for getting it regularly paid, the amount was reduced 25 per cent. The loan of one million made to the clergy in the year 1833 was also remitted.\*

Whether the advantage of the Church or the pacification of the country, for an interval at least, are to be considered, the Tithe Act of 1838 is certainly entitled to the praise of having essentially contributed to both objects. There were many per-

\* The Parliamentary aids in money to the Protestant Church may be held to have terminated with the remission of this debt. The amount mentioned at page 127 had been augmented, according to a return printed in 1832, by £454,487 13s. 6d., between the years 1811 and 1823, both included. This amount, added to a sum of £279,217 advanced to the Tithe Relief Commissioners, makes the total sum of money advanced by the United Parliament to the Protestant Church in Ireland, since the Union, £2,019,318 7s. 1d.



sons who contended then, and still maintain, that its provisions ought to have been carried much further ; but it is impossible to deny that, as a settlement of the enormous difficulties of the mere tithe question, this law has proved in its operation decidedly beneficial and successful, and not to the Church only, but to the country at large. If, however, changing our point of observation we are to regard this as a measure of political consistency, and are to estimate its merits by the principles applicable to it, according to the repeated declarations of those who passed it, there will be found in the proceeding not a little to condemn and to regret. The appropriation clause was abandoned—most emphatically had its authors borne testimony to its importance, when they were unfettered by the ties of office—most solemn had been their pledges to stand by the principle and maintain it whole and unimpaired, when the obligations of office had accrued and added to the force of previous convictions ; but all was now indefinitely waived, and nothing whatever appeared to indicate an intention of resuming and enforcing the principle in some better form upon a more favourable opportunity. Notwithstanding the large numbers who, during three successive years, had voted for the appropriation clause, there were at last found only 46 members to support Mr. Ward in his able effort to vindicate his own consistency as well as the consistency of the liberal politicians of that day in the House of Commons.\*

\* In the session of 1838, Mr. Ward, alone of his party, feared not to declare his readiness to follow out and act upon a principle he believed to be politic and just. His words were:—

“The character of a Church establishment must vary in accordance with the assent or dissent of the majority of the people of the country in which it exists. I know no other basis of a religious establishment than this. And the property of the Church I believe to be no more the individual property of its ministers than the House of Commons is the property of its members. It is a property confided to them for the benefit of the people. This principle was acknowledged in Scotland, when Episcopacy ceased to be maintained ; and in England, on the same principle, there is no provision for Presbytery. In Ireland alone we reversed the rule, and confiscated the property of the majority for the benefit of the few. As long as this principle is acted upon, so long will there be no peace or tranquillity in that country. I am aware that I may be asked, whether I would establish the Catholic Church as the dominant

This was something more than a melancholy exhibition. It was discreditable to see the statesmen of such an empire as Great Britain, together with the intellect that upheld them in office, admitting by this proceeding either that they had been pursuing an erroneous course for years past, or, though still assured of being in the right, that they had not the courage to persevere. It may perhaps be urged that by the simple fact of settling the tithe question, and so getting rid of the frightful series of evils, for so many years the constant followers and attendants upon its track, a great public service was rendered;—granted. But then how lamentable a want of tact and judgment was shown when the two things were first bound up together; and supposing the appropriation principle to have been, as it was so often and so eloquently maintained, correct, how marked was the want of skill apparent in now throwing it overboard altogether, and not devising some appropriate means of preserving it whole and undamaged for future use and application.

The fact however appears to be, that the government, or at least some of their ablest supporters, had already begun to see the matter in its true light and bearings. The appropriation principle, in the modified form of the ministerial pro-

Church in Ireland. To this I would answer—for I should be ashamed of myself if I refused to admit the fact—that *in my opinion the Catholic Church ought to be the Established Church of Ireland*; and though I see difficulties in this, from the objections which the Catholic priests have to become dependent on the State, I would assert, that to the Catholics *ought to belong the revenues of the Establishment*; but if that cannot be brought about, (and I admit the difficulties which are in the way,) those revenues ought to be applied in giving to the people education—in rooting out and rescuing them from ignorance, of which it had been well said by the poet—

“Ignorance is the curse of heaven,  
Knowledge is the wing by which we fly.”

If the property of the Irish Church is to be given to the minority, the only thing national connected with it will be the general discontent and dissatisfaction which it will create. Whatever may be the opinions of the people as to an Established Church, they will lose their attraction if that church is forced on the people by Act of Parliament. A system not conforming itself to the wish of the people, is what may be called a political lie.

position then put forward, would, if it had been carried, have left the main question at issue—namely, the state of religion and its establishments in Ireland as full of trouble, vexation, and discontent as ever. The political difficulty of the case was too manifest to be overlooked by practical politicians. That difficulty lay in the injustice done to the Presbyterian and Roman Catholic Churches by establishing the Protestant Church, and investing it with the highest privileges, political, social, and pecuniary, while they were not endowed with any rights or state whatever as national establishments. To suppose that so unequal a state of things as this was to be composed by diverting some fifty or a hundred thousand pounds every year from the surplus revenues of the Protestant Church to the purpose of education, or anything else, was a childish dream, and sure to pass away.\*

\* Lord John Russell, one would think, must have been deeply sensible of the awkwardness of his position under these circumstances; and the matter, perhaps, derives increased interest in consequence of the higher offices to which he has since been advanced. On more than one occasion he enounced with peculiar force the principles and arguments which embrace and conclude the whole question at issue. In the session of 1836, when resisting the counter-project of Lord Stanley, he vindicated the ministerial policy upon the distinct ground that, in legislating for Ireland with regard either to that or any other matter, it was right and necessary to consult the interests and feelings of the great body of the people. There, no doubt, he followed the line of argument which goes most directly to upset the pretensions on which the Irish policy of the Tories has generally been placed. But the weakness of his position consisted in the undeniable insufficiency of the proposed measure to satisfy the principles upon which it was brought forward and defended. It was manifestly impossible to suppose that, if the Irish Church was to be regulated for the future according to the opinions of the majority of the inhabitants of Ireland, the simple diversion, as proposed, of some £90,000 or £100,000 yearly from its present revenues, to educational purposes, would attain that object. There was, therefore, no denying the imputation, that, upon the principles asserted by ministers, the proposed concession could only be rationally regarded as the first instalment of a much larger debt, which would still remain to be paid off. It was only inserting the sharp edge of the wedge which might eventually leave no Protestant Established Church in Ireland at all, a result, by the way, only to be produced by mis-directed efforts to reform the Church; nevertheless, it was at any rate a result which ministers did not profess to contemplate, and yet it stood forth conspicuously as the legitimate and inevitable consequence, if not of the measure under discussion, at least of the principles on which that measure was by themselves vindicated and urged. Lord J. Russell stated the plain truth when he asserted that the controversy, both with regard to



The actual or working state of the Establishment remains to be shown : and this may be done in the clearest manner by giving in the first place the number of benefices, chapels of ease, incumbents, and curates, with the number of private patrons ; and then by analysing the proceedings and resources of the ecclesiastical commission constituted in the year 1833.

At that time it was enacted that as vacancies took place the number of archbishops should be reduced to two, Armagh and Dublin ; and the number of bishops to ten, namely Meath, Derry, Down, Kilmore and Tuam, which were to be in the archiepiscopal diocese of Armagh ; and Ossory, Cashel, Cloyne, Killaloe, and Limerick, in the archiepiscopal diocese of Dublin. This arrangement has now been carried into effect in every instance but one—the bishopric of Clogher has not yet fallen in. The following table exhibits the distribution of dioceses provided by the Temporalities Act.

this and other pending questions, was, in fact, nothing else than a contest for the system on which Ireland was in future to be governed—whether it was to be a system of Protestant supremacy as heretofore, or a system by which the control of their own affairs should be left in the hands of the majority of the people. But well as all this was put there was a weakness, and an obvious falling short of the true requirements of the case in the position taken, which it was impossible to conceal. The mode or means by which the proposed reform was to be even remotely settled was nowhere stated or pointed out. There was, moreover, no admission made of the final result to which the principle itself inevitably conducted, so that the only thing that could be said to have been fully demonstrated by the proceedings was this—that a wealthy minority has a right to secure for the enjoyment of their own clergy the entire proceeds of an ecclesiastical impost levied indiscriminately upon the whole population of the country.

## \* ARCHIEPISCOPAL DIOCESE OF ARMAGH.

Dioceses.	Benefices.	Chapels of Ease.	Incumbents.	Curates.	Private Patrons.
{ Armagh . . .	103	2	101	49	15
{ Clogher . . .	56	12	50	47	4
{ Meath . . .	112	—	105	28	28
{ Derry . . .	62	5	64	34	13
{ Raphoe . . .	36	—	34	10	3
{ Down . . .	48	—	45	15	11
{ Connor . . .	69	2	62	29	17
{ Dromore† . . .	27	—	27	11	1
{ Kilmore . . .	45	4	44	30	2
{ Elphin . . .	41	1	40	10	2
{ Ardagh . . .	31	—	30	16	6
{ Tuam . . .	39	1	40	16	—
{ Killala . . .	14	—	14	8	—
{ Achonry . . .	10	1	10	6	1
† With this Bishopric is included the exempt jurisdiction of Newry and Mourne, containing	6	—	2	6	5

## ARCHIEPISCOPAL DIOCESE OF DUBLIN.

{ Dublin . . .	137	1	124	92	19
{ Kildare . . .	44	—	41	21	13
{ Ossory . . .	68	1	63	35	7
{ Ferns . . .	64	1	60	24	8
{ Leighlin . . .	61	—	57	32	13
{ Waterford . . .	15	—	13	10	—
{ Cashel . . .	40	—	37	14	1
{ Emly . . .	20	—	17	4	3
{ Lismore . . .	51	—	43	29	18
{ Cork . . .	73	4	69	45	13
{ Cloyne . . .	94	—	87	40	7
{ Ross . . .	26	—	24	11	4
{ Killaloe . . .	68	—	68	15	6
{ Kilfenora . . .	7	—	6	2	1
{ Clonfert . . .	13	—	13	4	4
{ Kilmacduagh . . .	4	—	4	2	2
{ Limerick . . .	62	—	56	14	18
{ Ardferit & Aghadoe	53	—	47	20	20
Total . . .	1609	34	1495	713	160

\* The list of benefices given in these tables is taken from the Ecclesiastical Directories, which appear to be carefully prepared, undergoing corrections from year to year. They make the number of benefices greater than the Parliamentary Papers, according to which there are only 1556 benefices or livings, and 1338 churches.

This summary displays liberal provisions. Here for about, in round numbers, 800,000 Protestants, are 1643 benefices and chapels of ease, together with a staff of 2207 clergymen. The number of private patrons being 260, and the Crown having resigned its rights of a like kind upon the appointment of the ecclesiastical commission, it follows that the Church or its immediate clients enjoy the high privilege of disposing, without control, of all this valuable patronage. The reasonableness of this Establishment may be fairly judged by referring to the numerical accounts officially given of the congregations for whose accommodation it is maintained. The Parliamentary Returns of the day represented—

41 ministers without any congregation.					
99	„	„	from	1	to 20 members.
124	„	„	„	20	„ 50 „
160	„	„	„	50	„ 100 „
224	„	„	„	100	„ 200 „
286	„	„	„	200	„ 500 „
209	„	„	„	500	„ 1000 „
139	„	„	„	1000	„ 2000 „
91	„	„	„	2000	„ 5000 „
12	„	„	„	above	„ 5000 „

We have now to examine the present means of support awarded by law for the maintenance of the benefices and clergymen already enumerated. The tithe rent-charge subsists and is enjoyed as the private estate of the individual. In other but not in all respects the property of the Church is accounted for in the published Receipts and Disbursements of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. These, exclusive of Primate *Boulter's* and Primate *Robinson's* funds, stand as follow from the opening of the commission to August 1, 1847, distinguishing the sources of a permanent from the sources of an occasional or uncertain character.\*

\* The annexed table, together with the particulars given immediately after it in numerical order, is taken from the Report of the House of Commons' Committee on Ministers' Money in the Session of 1848.



RECEIPTS.				DISBURSEMENTS.							
		£	s. d.	£	s. d.		£	s. d.			
1834.	Permanent	8,792	0 3			1834.	Permanent	4,610 14 5			
	Occasional	59,936	10 5				Occasional	46,432 3 4			
				68,728	10 8			51,042 17 9			
1835.	Permanent	15,416	16 3			1835.	Permanent	54,914 4 3			
	Occasional	152,610	12 7				Occasional	65,338 13 3			
				168,027	8 10			120,252 17 6			
1836.	Permanent	32,549	14 5			1836.	Permanent	98,475 7 3			
	Occasional	148,495	8 8				Occasional	69,817 2 2			
				181,045	3 1			168,292 9 5			
1837.	Permanent	40,038	7 11½			1837.	Permanent	117,392 9 5			
	Occasional	63,182	12 8½				Occasional	46,467 3 0			
				103,221	0 7			163,859 12 5			
1838.	Permanent	78,505	11 11			1838.	Permanent	111,964 15 0			
	Occasional	21,991	8 7				Occasional	2,291 2 9			
				100,497	0 6			114,255 17 9			
1839.	Permanent	42,731	7 2			1839.	Permanent	117,857 17 1			
	Occasional	95,429	2 0				Occasional	1,969 9 0			
				138,160	9 2			119,827 6 1			
1840.	Permanent	49,556	6 3			1840.	Permanent	106,342 16 5			
	Occasional	89,712	8 7				Occasional	40,084 2 11			
				139,268	14 10			146,426 19 4			
1841.	Permanent	57,707	13 1			1841.	Permanent	97,996 7 10			
	Occasional	58,015	16 8				Occasional	10,338 11 10			
				115,723	9 9			108,334 19 8			
1842.	Permanent	60,703	16 5			1842.	Permanent	94,753 10 3			
	Occasional	22,203	1 10				Occasional	1,626 16 3			
				82,906	18 3			96,380 6 6			
1843.	Permanent	68,737	4 2			1843.	Permanent	89,412 9 3			
	Occasional	42,178	18 2				Occasional	1,268 1 10			
				110,916	2 4			90,680 11 1			
1844.	Permanent	80,093	0 3			1844.	Permanent	80,642 15 9			
	Occasional	25,820	0 4				Occasional	39,078 16 5			
				105,913	0 7			119,721 12 2			
1845.	Permanent	73,651	14 3			1845.	Permanent	78,363 16 0			
	Occasional	42,452	16 11				Occasional	46,884 7 10			
				116,104	11 2			125,248 3 10			
1846.	Permanent	85,086	13 11½			1846.	Permanent	83,168 6 5			
	Occasional	27,109	5 5				Occasional	28,725 13 8½			
				112,195	19 4½			111,894 0 1½			
1847.	Permanent	62,969	16 9			1847.	Permanent	80,565 12 1			
	Occasional	33,724	14 8				Occasional	17,092 15 9			
				96,694	11 5			97,658 7 10			
				£1,639,403	0 6½					£1,633,876	1 5½

The principal heads of expenditure in the preceding account stand thus:—

Date.	*Church Requi- sites, Rebuild- ings and Repairs.	Incidents of Office.	Salaries.	Law Costs and Payments.	Bibles, &c.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1834	11,593 9 9	2,804 2 2	654 12 0		
1835	49,054 6 7	3,743 18 6	7,443 8 10	1,126 10 2	
1836	88,267 14 3	986 18 2	7,741 16 1	180 15 0	425 9 6
1837	98,292 1 5	807 6 0	7,797 5 4	1,570 3 8	473 14 9
1838	92,361 2 6	1,467 15 5	6,342 9 8	2,794 13 6	386 3 7
1839	101,722 14 1	1,713 0 9	6,322 11 2	85 9 5	575 18 5
1840	86,047 5 3	2,018 18 0	6,262 3 6	2,538 9 3	313 6 8
1841	78,186 11 1	1,312 10 0	6,275 10 0	2,743 0 6	75 19 8
1842	75,799 13 0	1,136 18 4	6,313 13 0	1,439 18 9	212 2 9
1843	69,769 16 10	889 15 11	6,031 13 2	2,094 0 5	
1844	60,628 2 4	757 15 4	6,028 9 5	2,144 16 9	134 7 6
1845	57,584 17 11	741 19 5	6,107 13 4	1,621 5 8	102 10 0
1846	61,342 18 8	523 3 11	6,423 1 5	1,819 19 8	232 6 0
1847	61,853 15 11	531 3 8	6,516 0 0	1,668 4 0	242 5 9
	992,504 9 7	19,436 5 7	86,260 6 11	21,808 6 9	3,174 4 6

\* The number of churches to which the money in this column has been applied is 1354.

It appears further :—1. That twenty Churches have been erected from funds arising under the Church Temporalities Act in parishes where no Churches existed at the time the act was passed. The total cost of these Churches has been £16,230 13s. 11d., of which the ecclesiastical commissioners contributed £8,668 17s. 10d., and private sources £7871 1s. 6d.

2. That ninety-eight Churches, offering accommodation for 26,372 persons, have been rebuilt at a total cost of £99,875 8s. 3d., of which the commissioners contributed £82,271 17s. 10d., and private sources £17,603 10s. 5d.

3. That nine Churches have been rebuilt chiefly from private funds ; the total cost of the nine being £17,333 17s. of which only £2517 4s. 5d. came from the commission.

4. That ten Churches have been rebuilt from funds chiefly supplied by the commissioners, the total cost being £21,411 4s. 6d., of which only £3467 8s. were derived from private sources.

5. The prospective income to be derived from the bishoprics which have not yet fallen in is estimated at—

Armagh . . . . .	£4,500
Derry . . . . .	2,000
Clogher . . . . .	10,000
<hr/>	
Total . . . . .	£16,500

6. The number of suspended benefices, according to the provisions of the act, stand thus :—

In parishes where no service was performed for three years before the year 1833—thirty-eight.

The average number that have annually become void since the commencement is three, and the number still not voided is thirty-six.

7. The dignities and prebends, without cure of souls, existing when this act passed were—dignities forty-two, prebends fifty-six ; of these there have since become voided fifty-two, and the number still to become void is forty-six.

8. The number of benefices now paying tax is 230.

9. The number of benefices which, when voided, will be

subject to tax is 283, and the total amount of their annual value is £147,744 16s.

10. The number of bishoprics which, when voided, will be subject to tax is six, and the total amount of their annual value is £40,082 15s. 2d.

11. The number of bishoprics which have been voided is seventeen, and the sum received on account of them,\* for the year ending August 1, 1847, was £32,648. This, and the amount not yet fallen in, which is estimated [see No. 5 paragraph,] at £16,500, will leave the tax much under the sum of £69,000 a-year, which Lord Althorp, when he proposed the Temporalities Act, fixed as its product.

12. The income derivable from the different benefices is—gross income £453,094, and the net £369,660.

13. The amount of moneys received from the sale of perpetuities is £575,951 16s., including £52,681 11s. 7d. invested in mortgages.

14. The value of the whole of the perpetuities, as estimated by Mr. Finlaison, the Government Actuary, is £1,200,000 ; but doubts are entertained upon the point, and it seems likely

\* The yearly tax imposed by the Church Temporalities Act, on all benefices and dignities, the net annual value of which exceeds £300, graduates according to the following scale :—

VALUE OF BENEFICE.		Tax per Cent.
Exceeding	and not exceeding	
£	£	£ s. d.
300	305	2 10 0
305	315	2 15 0
315	325	3 0 0
325	335	3 5 0
335	345	3 10 0
345	355	3 15 0
355	365	4 0 0
365	375	4 5 0
375	385	4 10 0
385	395	4 15 0
395	405	5 10 0
405	415	5 12 6

The rate of charge increases by 2s. 6d. per cent. on every additional £10



enough that the amount stated will never be realised if matters are allowed to proceed as they have done.

Such is the ecclesiastical commission. Its results are by no means satisfactory, and they are but too likely to continue of the same kind while the constitution of the commission remains without change. It is overloaded with bishops, while there ought not to be a bishop upon it. The only praise apparently due to its system is that the churches, generally speaking, are in a better condition than they used to be. The large sums applied under this head of expenditure insured improvement. A show of poverty and distress has been made in some places by allowing walls and windows to go unswept, and so grow dirty. But the clergy are in fault there; they might, with a little exertion, as they were bound, have had the work referred to done out of the sum allowed for requisites.

Of errors committed by the commissioners, the chief one relates to the Perpetuity Fund, which has sustained an irreparable loss of more than half a million sterling. They were directed by the act to make a permanent investment of all moneys derived from the sale of Church lands. But for several years they treated their annual receipts from that source as income, and as such paid them away. The practice was at length put a stop to by Lord Heytesbury, but not before £523,270 4s. 5d. had been irrecoverably disbursed.

The cost of working the commission is extravagant, the amount paid for salaries, incidents, and law, being £127,474 19s. 3d., on £992,504 9s. 7d., or 12½ per cent.

The chief ground of complaint, however, against this com-

above £405. All benefices exceeding £1195 are taxed at the rate of £15 per cent.

The yearly tax imposed upon all bishoprics is as follows:—Where the annual value does not exceed £4000, £5 per cent.; exceeding £4000 and not exceeding £6000, £7 per cent.; exceeding £6000 and not exceeding £8000, £10 per cent.; exceeding £8000 and not exceeding £10,000, £12 per cent. Lord John Beresford, Archbishop of Armagh, is not taxed, but pays an annual sum of £4500; and Dr. Ponsonby, Bishop of Derry, pays a sum of £6160.

mission as a working measure may be shortly stated to be this:—it has failed, to any extent fairly commensurate with the resources available for the purpose, to realise what may be truly described as the hidden or perverted wealth of the Church. The facts elicited during the official inquiries which led to the appointment of the commission apprised us that the lands belonging to the bishops' sees contained 669,247 acres, and the lands belonging to benefices 91,137 acres—total, 760,384 acres. £1 an acre would be a moderate estimate of the letting value of this land. The rent thus derivable, or its value, if properly invested, ought to suffice for the maintenance of a Church with only 800,000 adherents, exclusive of tithes. But there is nothing in the accounts of the commissioners which shows receipts at all corresponding with the estimated rental just referred to, or its value if sold. What we do find, however, independently of this property, is an annual revenue from tithes amounting to £453,094 a year, while there remains a sum of £147,744 a year belonging to benefices not yet voided, and as such not yet brought under taxation. It is therefore impossible not to feel that the salutary work of retrenchment and reform has not as yet been applied in any degree commensurate with the necessities of this important subject.

Other and not inconsiderable omissions will be noticed by those who are familiar with the maintenance of Churches and the management of Church property. Rents for pews and Church sittings, and fees for marriages, christenings, and burials, are legitimate sources of Church revenue, and they are uniformly enforced by the Church throughout England. Are they received by the Protestant clergy in Ireland? If received, why are they not mentioned amongst the other elements of their wealth? If not received, why is the Protestant in Ireland exempted from charges to which the members of his Church in England are subject, and which all the other religious denominations in the country are bound to pay?

We have now to examine and report upon the condition of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland—its establishments and pecuniary resources—that Church, so painfully recognised for ages past as a matter of fact, but which, for three centuries, has nevertheless been held not to have existed in point of law. Our legal fictions have been numerous, and some of them beneficial; but when they are carried to such an extent as they have been in the case now under consideration, they become incompatible with the peace and good government of the empire.

The Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, as established in point of fact, has at all times offered a most insulting reproach to the law, by the explicit fulness with which it has never failed to contradict the pretensions of its feeble rival, to the exclusive enjoyment of the favours and advantages of a State Establishment. All the authorities present us for all periods with a vast preponderance of Roman Catholics in Ireland.

Sir W. Petty, in the "Political Anatomy of Ireland," says, "There be eight papists for three others." The total number of inhabitants he sets down at 1,100,000, of which 800,000 are Roman Catholics,\* 150,000 legal Protestants, and the rest Nonconformists. This was in the year 1672.

Primate Boulter, writing to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Feb. 13, 1727, says, "There are probably in this kingdom

\* Sir William's estimate of the establishments necessary for the Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches in Ireland at this period, 1672, does not take the Nonconformists into account, but is worthy of a passing note. He says one bishop for Ireland is more than thirty in England, and to that bishop he would give £2500 a year. To 150 ministers he would give £150 a year each, and thus £250,000 would then have been the proper cost of the Protestant Church in Ireland according to his judgment. The landed estates of the Church consisted, as he tells us in the same tract, of 300,000 acres; and the Church revenue was worth about £1,100,000 per annum. "The body of Irish Papists," he adds, "are governed by about 1000 secular priests, and 2500 friars and regulars of several orders, whereof most are Franciscans, next Dominicans and Augustins, but few Capuchins and Jesuits, or Carthusians." That number he proposed to reduce to 1000, giving "800 souls to the pastorage of each priest." But he says nothing as to the provision of means for maintaining these priests.



five Papists to at least one Protestant. We have incumbents and curates to the number of about 1800, whilst there are near 3000 Popish priests of all sorts here."

In the year 1740 the number of Protestant housekeepers was returned by the supervisors of hearth-money to the Lord Lieutenant. This was quoted by Wakefield as follows :—

Abstract of the number of Protestant Housekeepers in Ireland, as returned by the several supervisors of hearth-money in their respective surveys, in obedience to an order from the Lord Lieutenant, April 2, 1740.

NAMES OF THE SEVERAL SURVEYS.		NAMES OF THE SEVERAL SURVEYS.	
	Number of Protestant Housekeepers.		Number of Protestant Housekeepers.
1. Antrim . . .	19,100	Brought forward .	64,666
2. Armagh . . .	11,415	12. Kilkenny . . .	2,242
3. Athlone . . .	1,936	13. Limerick . . .	2,246
4. Clare . . .	1,455	14. Londonderry . .	14,404
5. Cork . . .	4,053	15. Mayo . . .	824
6. Donegal . . .	9,523	16. Philipstown . .	2,320
7. Drogheda . . .	1,664	17. Rathkeale . . .	945
8. Dublin . . .	7,065	18. Sligo . . .	1,457
9. Enniskillen . . .	2,744	19. Waterford . . .	1,521
10. Fermanagh . . .	4,447	20. Wexford . . .	2,343
11. Kerry . . .	1,264	21. Wicklow . . .	3,099
Carried forward .	64,666	Total .	96,067

In the year 1766 the Irish House of Lords called for lists of the Protestant and Popish families, and the number of Protestants and Papists (individuals), and priests and friars. The returns to this order were examined by Wakefield at the Record Office in Dublin; but the papers were found in so confused a state, and the forms in which the returns were made up so full of mistakes and omissions, that but little value attaches to the abstract furnished at Vol. II. of his work, p. 587. In no county for instance, except Cork, was the return conformable to the order. The number of families, however, of both

religions, and of priests and friars, appears to be tolerably correct. These, therefore, we copy. Multiplying the number of families by 4, as an average, we get the total number of Protestants—Presbyterians doubtless were included under the name—as 521,052; and of Roman Catholics as 1,222,740.

Abstract of the Returns made by the Parish Ministers and Curates of the Protestant and Popish Families, and of the number of Protestants and Papists. (Individuals,) and Priests and Friars, in the respective Parishes and Dioceses, by order of the House of Peers in 1766.

Diocese.	Protestant Families.	Papist Families.	Priests.	Friars.
Armagh . . .	8,020	9,736	29	8
Cashel . . .	1,037	9,795	52	8
Cork and Ross . .	4,814	23,039	69	10
Clogher . . .	10,546	13,519	44	5
Clonfert . . .	426	5,958	37	42
Cloyne . . .	1,534	12,971	46	4
Derry . . .	13,286	9,586	23	8
Down and Connor	21,629	6,504	19	1
Dublin . . .	9,619	8,823	90	18
Dromore . . .	6,093	3,900	9	0
Elphin . . .	1,300	13,268	36	15
Kilmore and Ardagh	4,546	21,433	71	13
Killaloe, &c. . .	905	8,533	51	7
Killala, &c. . .	1,987	12,481	36	14
Kildare . . .	4,240	14,393	34	4
Limerick, &c. . .	1,491	9,777	38	5
Leighlin and Ferns	3,340	15,049	56	13
Meath . . .	1,283	12,249	52	4
Ossory . . .	1,168	9,638	51	8
Raphoe . . .	6,596	7,700	27	7
Tuam . . .	2,234	20,521	37	20
Waterford and Lismore	2,879	16,519	49	and a convent. 25
Sundry Parishes, not known in what Diocese . . .	21,263	40,288	157	64
Total . . .	130,263	305,680	1143	303

With this information the legislature appears to have been satisfied until the year 1835, when the return, already given at page 141, was made public.

The constitution or establishment of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland is shown in the following table, which has

been compiled from the official authorities of that Church for the year 1848.

ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS.	Parish Priests.	Curates.	Churches.	Convents.	Nunneries.	Clergy in Colleges, Friars, &c.
<b>ARCHDIOCESE OF ARMAGH.</b>						
Archbishop of Armagh . . .	50	64	126	4	2	10
Bishop of Derry . . .	37	57	70		1	
„ Clogher . . .	36	54	78			
„ Raphoe . . .	25	30	48			
„ Down and Connor . . .	32	25	82			
„ Kilmore . . .	40	47	90			
„ Ardagh . . .	38	50	68	1		4
„ Meath . . .	66	71	142	2	4	16
„ Dromore . . .	16	23	39		1	
Total in Ulster . . .	340	421	743	7	8	30
<b>ARCHDIOCESE OF DUBLIN.</b>						
Archbishop of Dublin . . .	47	130	122	9	26	83
Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin . . .	45	72	113	2	11	20
„ Ossory . . .	36	60	94	4	3	25
„ Ferns . . .	37	59	100	3	6	20
Total in Leinster . . .	162	321	428	18	46	123
<b>ARCHDIOCESE OF CASHEL.</b>						
Archbishop of Cashel & Emly . . .	44	59	90	5	2	20
Bishop of Cork . . .	31	46	84	5	7	30
„ Killaloe . . .	51	65	120	1	2	4
„ Kerry . . .	43	46	96	2	8	2
„ Limerick . . .	43	60	93	3	4	16
„ Waterford and Lismore . . .	36	70	76	5	10	30
„ Cloyne and Ross . . .	48	90	113	5		2
Total in Munster . . .	295	434	660	25	32	108
<b>ARCHDIOCESE OF TUAM.</b>						
Archbishop of Tuam . . .	52	62	113	2	3	6
Bishop of Clonfert . . .	20	18	44	4	1	14
„ Achonry . . .	22	23	44			
„ Elphin . . .	42	51	81	3	1	6
„ Kilmacduagh and Kilfenora . . .	18	11	36		1	
„ Galway . . .	14	12	16	4	5	14
„ Killala . . .	20	13	40			
Total in Connaught . . .	188	190	374	13	11	40
Total . . .	985	1366	2205	63	97	301



We have here 4 Archbishops; 23 Bishops; 985 Parish Priests; 1366 Curates; and 301 Clergymen devoted to education, or serving as Friars. The number of parishes, according to the Roman Catholic division of the country, is considerably more than the number of parish priests—the parishes being 2205, and the parish priests 985. This inequality is represented as matter of necessity, many parishes having been consolidated because the number of priests is not sufficient to administer them separately.

The constitution and government of this hierarchy is ordered in the following manner. It is subject in all things to the pope's supremacy administered by the see of Rome; each bishop appoints his own vicar-general and archdeacon, and also, whenever infirmity happens to impair his health or strength, a coadjutor-bishop to assist in the more efficient discharge of the duties of the see.

When a bishop dies the parish priests of the diocese assemble, and, in the first place, choose a vicar-capitular, who is invested with episcopal power while the see remains vacant. They then proceed to select three names, which are sent to Rome with a petition, *postulating*, as it is called, the pope to make one of them the future bishop. At the same time the bishops of the province meet, and recommend to the pope one of the number as deserving of preference. In point of practice the recommendation of the bishops is understood to decide the election at Rome—or rather at the College de Propaganda Fide, to whose department the matter belongs. In the majority of cases the first name returned by the parish priests is the one adopted by the bishops and the Sacred College.

In each diocese the bishop ordains and appoints the curates, and from them, as parishes fall vacant, selects the parish priests. The bishop, also, has the power of removing both curates and priests from one parish to another, as he may deem fit; and this is done as well for the purpose of rewarding zeal, talent, and efficiency, as of punishing the want or misuse of those qualities.

The income enjoyed by the different orders of the Roman

Catholic Church appears to be well known in all that relates to the sources from which it is directly drawn ; but the total amount or value of the respective preferments is not to be ascertained with facility or precision. The whole may be said to consist of voluntary contributions ; that is to say, no fees or dues to Roman Catholic bishops or priests are recoverable at law. At the same time it must be admitted that the moral compulsion to pay is potent and effectual. The Rev. D. O. Croly, author of a remarkable pamphlet\* upon the subject of these payments, observes, " That although many persons cheerfully contribute to the support of their clergy, and pay without reluctance upon every necessary occasion ; very many, on the other hand, act a different part—many who would, if left to their own choice, pay nothing on this account." These persons part with their money through terror of public exposure, and the superstitious fear of sacerdotal hostility. The church dues, in short, of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, according to this gentleman's views, are sanctioned by custom and exacted by an authority as powerful, perhaps more powerful than the law of the land.

A Roman Catholic bishop maintains himself principally by retaining in his own hands the service of one or more of the best parishes in the diocese. A parish thus administered is called a Mensal parish. Every parish priest and every curate pays the bishop an annual fee. In the case of the parish priest, the sum varies from two to five guineas, according to the number of altars in the chapel and the extent and wealth of the parish : in the case of the curate, the sum is from

\* " Essay, Religious and Political, on Ecclesiastical Finance, as regards the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland," by the Rev. D. O. Croly, Parish Priest of Ovens and Aglish, 3rd edition, Cork, 1834. This publication excited a good deal of attention at the time it appeared. As the work of a Roman Catholic clergyman it was certainly a rare and very racy performance. The author writes with considerable force and severity of the means to which the Roman Catholic clergy are driven to support themselves, and the evil consequences which, as he argues, are thus created or rather necessitated. He gives the same sources of income to the priest as are enumerated in the text, but does not say how the bishops are paid. According to his estimate, £400 a year in some cases, and not a third of that sum in others, constituted the incomes of parish priests at the time he wrote, 1834.

one to two guineas. The bishop is further entitled to a fee for every marriage celebrated in his diocese; and he is also paid a gratuity upon every translation, preferment, and dispensation he may authorize. The exact amount of the episcopal incomes thus realised cannot be stated. Some of them have been taken approximately as high as £1500 a year, and some as low as £700. Supposing this estimate to be correct, we should have £1100 as the average, which, for four archbishops and 23 bishops, would give a total of £29,700 as the sum of the episcopal income of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland.

The parish priest draws his means of living from divers sources. He has a collection half-yearly at the chapel or at stations;\* he gets a fee and a collection of money at marriages; and he has fees for christenings, attendances at death-beds and funerals, and the celebration of mortuary and other masses. Of these sources of income the half-yearly collections and marriages yield the largest amounts of money. At marriages, besides a fee from the bridegroom, there is always plate-money; that is, money is collected for the priest by handing round a plate amongst the attendant friends. In the case of persons moving in good society, £50 have been collected at a wedding. The poorest persons never pay less than a pound for the performance of the ceremony. Christenings yield from 2s. 6d. to a pound, according to the rank of the parties. The same scale of charge may be said to apply to attendances at death-beds, funerals, and the celebration of mortuary and other masses. In the case of what is termed high mass for the dead, there is a fee of five guineas to the officiating priests, and a guinea to every priest who attends and takes a part in celebrating the ceremony. In this way as much as thirty guineas has been paid for a high mass.

Curates are paid by their respective parish priests. Their

\* Stations are appointments made by the parish priest, in large agricultural parishes, at the houses of the more stable farmers, for the purpose of hearing confessions and administering the eucharist. The priest remains at the house, the surrounding population come to him, and the administration of the sacrament is followed by a collection, to which each communicant is expected to contribute according to his means.



allowances vary from twenty to eighty guineas a year; and they usually board and lodge with their parish priest.

Various estimates have been made, from time to time, of the amount of money received from their flocks by the Roman Catholic priests in Ireland. Wakefield's calculation, in the year 1812, stood thus:—

Christmas and Easter Offerings . . . . .	£337,000
Marriage Licenses . . . . .	11,914
Marriage Fees for performing the Ceremony . . . . .	33,332
Collections made at Weddings . . . . .	33,332
Christening Fees : . . . . .	12,587
Burials . . . . .	12,587
<hr/>	
Total . . . . .	£440,752

But Wakefield, as if he thought the sum thus produced too low, proceeds immediately afterwards to state that the support of their clergy imposed an annual burden of more than half a million upon the Roman Catholic population. The truth is, that every attempt to get at the positive amount, by going into details, must be hazardous and unsatisfactory in the present state of our information upon the subject. With the exception of the registers kept by the clergy themselves, and as such inaccessible to public inspection, there are no records of the number of births, deaths, and marriages in Ireland. The elements of a correct calculation fail us at the commencement of the task. The result can only be approached in a general way; and to gain it, public opinion is the safest guide to follow. According to that, we shall not exaggerate in representing £600 a year as a large income for a parish priest.\* The most flourishing parishes in populous towns are not reputed to yield more. The poorest parishes, on the other hand, do not fall below £150. This would give £370 a year

\* The estimates here presented, of the incomes of the Roman Catholic clergy, are founded upon information collected in the year 1845, and applicable to the previous ten years. Obviously, therefore, they are much higher than either the bishops or the priests enjoyed during the three subsequent years, which were years of famine and poverty. Clerical incomes unquestionably fell to a low figure during that disastrous period. But they will naturally rise again to their former level, as the distress of the agricultural classes passes away, with abundant harvests and fair employment.

as the mean for each parish priest; and as the total number of that order of the clergy is 985, it would thus follow that £364,420 is the amount of the yearly sum contributed for their support. Curates do not receive much money independently of the allowances paid to them by their Parish Priests. £20 a year would be a liberal estimate for their extra fees, which may thus be taken to yield £27,320. Adding to these sums the one already given as the amount of the episcopal incomes, we have a total of £421,440 as the annual revenue of the Roman Catholic clergy.

This amount, however, presents an inadequate idea of the extent to which the Roman Catholics in Ireland contribute to the support and advancement of their church. In every large town we are almost sure to find a friary, with a chapel adjoining, served by two or three priests, who are maintained exclusively by gifts and dues obtained from the persons resorting to their ministry. A very large expenditure has taken place within the last twenty years, in the building of new chapels, monasteries and nunneries, and other edifices sacred to the propagation of the Roman Catholic faith. In almost every part of the country structures of this kind, many of them displaying all the requisites of good taste and solidity, surprise the traveller's eye. Mr. O'Connell, in one of the Reports of the Repeal Association, particularized the works of this class raised, within a few years, in Dublin alone, which exhibited the following liberal outlay:—

The Cathedral Church of St. Mary's, Marlborough Street	£43,000
Church of St. Andrew, Westland Row	21,000
„ of St. Paul's, Arran Quay	12,000
„ of St. Michan	8,000
„ of SS. Michael and John	6,000
„ of St. Catherine	7,000
„ of St. Nicholas	6,000
Sum collected for intended improvements, or actually expended upon the other Parochial Churches, say,	10,000
Church of St. Francis Xavier	8,000
The Churches and Ecclesiastical Buildings in Dublin, of the Augustinians, Calced Carmelites, Discalced Carmelites, Capuchins, Dominicans, and Franciscans, estimated much below the real sum at	20,000
Five Convents of Sisters of Charity, estimated low at	15,000
Three Convents of Carmelite Nuns	9,000

Convent of Poor Clares, of Dominican Nuns, and of the Presentation, say . . . . . £9,000

There are, besides these, ten schools for boys, instituted by the Educational Monks; and, at least, sixteen confraternities for teaching the Christian doctrine. The expenses under the two latter heads we are unable to calculate; but we have shown that, in the City of Dublin alone, there have been expended upon the voluntary principle, in buildings for the spiritual provision and education of Catholics, a sum exceeding £170,000.

This report was made in the year 1840.

The number of monks or friars belonging to religious orders has greatly decreased in Ireland. Sir W. Petty's estimate of 2500 appears incredible. We count hundreds now where he counted thousands.

The establishment of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland is, in the main, to be referred to the Plantation of Ulster. When James I. determined upon that undertaking, Scotchmen and Puritans, furnished by the companies of the corporation of London, were the principal immigrants who pushed forward to realise fortunes in Ireland. For many years afterwards any additional supplies of settlers were drawn from the same classes; and thus Presbyterians formed, from the outset, the great bulk of the new population. No statesman of that period seems to have troubled himself with the religious opinions of these persons. The chief object was to put Englishmen or Scotchmen on the lands of the native Irish; and, in providing for that, all other eventualities were overlooked or forgotten. No one, in all probability, suspected that a new element of disturbance would, in this way, be infused into the boiling sea of Irish confusion; or that the new scheme for suppressing the Roman Catholic religion would set up another formidable opponent to the struggling hierarchy of the Protestant establishment.

For some time no objection was taken to the religious opinions and worship of the settlers; or rather it was deemed politic not to notice or interfere with the peculiarities of men whose presence in the country was so much desired by the Government. The first confession of the Protestant



faith drawn up for Ireland, as already mentioned, by Archbishop Usher, admitted the tenets professed by the Westminster Divines of that era. These were the principles of the great body of the Ulster Planters, who were admitted to occupy the churches, to celebrate their own form of service in them, and to take tithes as a matter of course. But when, in about twenty years afterwards, the Westminster Confession was altered and made more conformable to the articles and ritual of the Church in England, the Irish Government and the Protestant bishops began to insist upon a strict profession and observance of the tenets and discipline prescribed by the law. Numerous suspensions and ejectments of non-conforming ministers then took place. Dr. Bramhall made himself conspicuous, both as Bishop of Derry and Archbishop of Armagh, by the activity with which he pursued this labour. He was more than once compelled, by the political vicissitudes of the period, to leave the country; but he returned on each occasion with unabated vigour to the prosecution of this charge. He drove the Presbyterians out of the cathedral of Derry; whereupon they found shelter in a church called the Little Church, then situate in the Palace Gardens, but which disappeared many years ago. From that retreat Bramhall also tried to eject them—apparently without effect. He and his party succeeded, however, before long, in restoring the cathedral and parish churches in Ulster to the service of the Protestant Church; but they did not succeed in putting a stop to the growth and extension of Presbyterianism. The men who had set up that form of worship in Ireland proved, like their co-religionists of England and Scotland, too sturdy and strong-minded a race to be defeated in their aim, or despoiled of their rights by any government however powerful and vindictive, or by any statesman however compromising and subtle.

The general result of this attack might have been foreseen: Presbyterianism was now compelled to form its own congregations; and thus came to be founded the third religious establishment of the country—the Presbyterian Church in Ireland. The first presbytery was that of Carrickfergus. Presbyterianism itself is held to have been founded, as an independent na-

tional establishment, in the year 1642, when ministers began to be regularly appointed for the celebration of divine worship according to the doctrines of the Church of Scotland, as expounded by the Westminster Assembly. In the year 1670 they began to build themselves a church within the city of Londonderry; but the bishop resisted, and forced them into the suburbs, where they succeeded, after much difficulty and persecution, in raising a small house.

The test laws, then in force, were the great obstacles to the spread of Presbyterianism. An attempt to obtain their repeal, as far as they related to Protestant dissenters, was made in the year 1733, without avail; but succeeded in the year 1779, when the rights of conscience continued to be withheld and political incapacity on religious grounds enforced to the injury of the Roman Catholics only.

Cromwell appears to have been the first who made a state payment to the Presbyterian Church in Ireland. Towards the end of the Protectorate certain Presbyterian ministers were endowed with £100 a year out of the treasury. When Charles II. was restored this allowance ceased; but that king afterwards settled £1200 a year upon the Presbyterian Church of Ireland. No more than £600 a year of this allowance is said to have been paid; and even that was withheld during the last years of this reign and the short reign of James II. The full amount was regranted by William III. a few days before the battle of the Boyne. From that period the state allowance has not only been continued with regularity, but liberally increased on many occasions. George I. gave an addition of £400 a year to the Presbyterian ministers of Ulster. Two augmentations of the grant took place in the year 1784; the one of £1000 a year, and the other of £500, to the Seceding Synod. In the year 1792 the Irish House of Commons voted a further sum of £5000 a year, which was divided amongst the ministers of the Synod of Ulster, of the Secession Synod, of the Southern Association, and of the French Church, St. Peter's, Dublin. Three-fourths of this grant fell to the share of the Synod of Ulster, and the same proportion of the remainder to the Seceding Synod.

From the year 1672 until the beginning of the present century, the ministers of the Presbyterian Church exercised their own discretion with regard to the distribution of this money, which has long been called the *Regium Donum*. A portion of the grant made by Charles II. was appropriated to the use of the widows and orphans of deceased pastors. At a subsequent period it was generally divided in equal shares amongst the ministers; but in some instances it was withheld altogether from particular individuals, whilst a double portion was given to others. In the year 1798 a contribution, amounting to £500, was made from it by the Synod of Ulster towards the defence of the kingdom. But in the year 1803 the grant was increased, and a new arrangement was adopted. An agent for its distribution was appointed by Government, the congregations of the Synod of Ulster were divided into three classes, and the ministers, according to their classification, then received each either £50, £75, or £100. The sum granted that year to the General Synod amounted to about £15,000.

The arrangement of 1803 continued until 1838, when classification was laid aside, and each minister became entitled to receive annually\* £75. The annual sum to be voted being thus made dependent upon the number of congregations, every increase of the latter necessarily involves an increase of the annual vote. The amount accordingly has risen of late years with marked rapidity. In the session of 1840 it was £29,000; in 1841, £34,000; in 1842, £42,000; and in 1848, £36,000.

The Presbyterians in Ireland have subdivided themselves into different Churches or Synods. Of these the principal is called the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland; then there is, 2. The Reformed Presbyterian Synod of Ireland, which withdrew from the larger body in the year

\* The course to be adopted by Presbyterian ministers desiring to avail themselves of the benefits of this grant is by no means troublesome. They have to fill up a printed form of certificate which is furnished for the purpose officially, and is to set forth that the congregation consists of twelve families, or fifty persons, in all; and that the amount of the contributions received from them is £35 a year. Upon certifying this state of facts every Presbyterian minister is entitled to receive £75 a year from the government.



1840; 3. The Eastern Reformed Presbyterian Synod, established in the year 1842; 4. The Synod and the Presbytery of Munster; 5. The Presbytery of Antrim; and, 6. The Remonstrant Synod of Ulster.

The Synods numbered 2 and 3 coincide as to doctrines with the General Assembly. They are all that remain in Ireland of the old Covenanters adhering closely to the Westminster Standard, and declining to receive pecuniary aid from the Government, upon the ground that it is not "ordered," or constituted as in their consciences they conceive it ought to be; and, therefore, that to accept pecuniary aid from it would be to countenance and participate in the maintenance of error and wrong. The ministers of this body, accordingly, are entirely dependent for support upon the voluntary principle.

The Synods numbered 4, 5, and 6 are held to incline to, if they do not all openly profess, Unitarian opinions.

The different establishments maintained by these subdivisions of Presbyterianism are shown in the following table.

	Min- isters.	Presby- teries.	Congre- gations.
Presbyterian Church, or, as it is literally expressed by the body itself, the General Assembly of the Pres- byterian Church in Ireland	507	36	482
Reformed Presbyterian Synod of Ireland . . . .	24	6	30
Eastern Reformed Presbyterian Synod . . . .	7	2	11
United Original Seceding Presbytery of Down and Connor . . . . .	4	1	4
Remonstrant Synod of Ulster . . . . .	31	4	34
Presbytery of Antrim . . . . .	13	1	9
United Presbytery or Synod of Munster* . . .	9	1	10
Presbytery of Munster . . . . .	10	1	10
Total . . . . .	605	52	580

The incomes enjoyed by these clergymen are made up, the Covenanters excepted, in the first place from the government grant, and in the next from fees paid for church-sittings,

\* At a meeting of the Presbytery of Munster, held in Fermoy, May 24, 1842, it was unanimously resolved, That the Presbytery assert its fundamental principle of requiring assent to the Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechisms, of all future entrants into the ministry of congregations connected with it.

marriages, and christenings. The Covenanters are held to receive not more than £100 a year each, and the highest income yielded by any of the other Churches is reputed not to exceed £400 a year. The lowest would evidently be £110; that is £75 from Government, and £35 from the congregation. The mean or average of the incomes of the whole body of the Presbyterian ministers, Covenanters excepted, would thus stand at £255 for each minister; and the sum total of the whole would be—31 Covenanters £100 each, = £ 3100; and 574 ministers of the other synods at £255 each, = £147,370: in all £150,470.

The comparative strength and resources of the three religions, Protestant, Presbyterian, and Roman Catholic, as demonstrated in the preceding accounts of each, exhibit the following very disproportionate numbers:—

	Number of Adherents in 1836.	Number of Parochial Clergy in 1848.	Income of Parochial Clergy in 1848.	State Provision for Clergy in 1848.
Protestant Church .	852,064	2207	£453,094	£680,838
Roman Catholic .	6,427,712	2351	421,440	none
Presbyterian .	642,356	605	150,470	36,000

The other religious bodies in Ireland being inconsiderable in point of numbers, will be sufficiently described in a few words. They are one and all totally unconnected with the State. Amongst the oldest, and by far the most important in point of social and useful influence, stand the Quakers, or the Society of Friends. These excellent men, who more than any others hold out the splendid example of practising the rules of Christian charity, without the slightest drawback or disqualification from religious or political prejudices, are said to have first come to Ireland with Cromwell's army. George Fox visited the country in the year 1658; and it was in Ireland that William Penn first became a member of the body. The Irish Quakers, at their meeting in Dublin in the year 1727, issued the first public remonstrance that was raised against the iniquities of the Slave Trade. In the year 1750 the Irish Quakers had 101 meeting houses, and may now have

about 40. But though their numbers have decreased, their character retains its usual force and elasticity. Wherever they settle they take the lead in commerce, and acquire considerable wealth: their industry, perseverance, and attachment to works of enterprise, utility and beneficence, are above all praise; exhibiting on every occasion a bright example of those practical virtues which are the best guarantees of order and happiness, and are nowhere felt to be wanted more than in Ireland.

The Wesleyan Methodists established themselves in Ireland in the year 1739, under the personal care of John Wesley himself. This appears to be a divided body, denominated Wesleyan and Primitive Wesleyans; the former co-operate with the conference in England, and the latter appear to incline to the forms of an Independent Church. In Ireland, however, the two bodies hold annual conferences. The Wesleyans have 14 districts, 54 chapels, and 164 ministers. The Primitive Methodists have 10 districts, 28 chapels, and 78 ministers. The two sections are noted for zeal and activity. They send out many missionaries, some of whom are able to address the lower orders in their native tongue. They move about from place to place, preaching at fairs and in the public market places. It is not easy to calculate the total number of Wesleyans in Ireland, but if they are set down at 40,000 altogether, the estimate will be a liberal one.

The Independents seem to be rather an offshoot from the Methodists, although they describe themselves as descendants from Cromwell's Puritans. They have 34 stations, and perhaps 5000 adherents.

The Baptists in the year 1815, were represented as being 2000 in number, having five chapels: they now claim to have 40 chapels, served by 23 ministers. They call their Church the Baptist Union of Ireland, and hold a meeting of pastors and representatives every year in Dublin. The total number of Baptists now in Ireland may be 4000.

The Irish Moravians are very few in number, probably not much more than 1200. They have a bishop, settled at Grace



Hill in the county of Antrim, and maintain a chapel in Dublin, and some other towns.

The Jews, never numerous in Ireland, appear rather to have increased in Dublin of late years, where they have erected a synagogue, and formed a regular congregation.

The extent to which the State has of late years voted money in aid of these three religions, is shown\* by the following extracts from a Parliamentary Paper of the sessions of 1844.

Years.	Grants in aid of						Expense of building and repairing Churches and Chapels, including drawback of Duty on materials used.	Amount of arrears of tithe and expenses, &c., under Tithe, Million and other Acts for the relief of the Clergy in Ireland.				
	Church of Rome in Ireland.			Protestant Dissenters in Ireland.								
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1830	8,928	0	0	20,931	6	3	277 7 9			33,493	13	1
1831	8,928	0	0	21,798	11	8				657,569	13	10
1832	8,928	0	0	24,390	7	2				5,442	13	0
1833	8,928	0	0	24,025	18	2				312	9	9
1834	8,928	0	0	24,653	8	2						
1835	8,928	0	0	25,223	13	10						
1836	8,928	0	0	25,527	5	6						
1837	11,160	0	0	25,480	16	3						
1838	8,928	0	0	29,521	13	0				170,225	14	5
1839	8,928	0	0	31,552	2	1				83,485	1	2
1840	8,928	0	0	30,796	12	5				5,047	14	7
1841	8,928	0	0	36,486	15	9				1,594	5	8
1842	8,928	0	0	35,156	4	2				104	19	0
1843	8,928	0	0	34,086	17	3				120	9	1
1844	8,928	0	0	34,629	2	10						
Total	136,152	0	0	424,261	1	9	277 7 9			957,496	13	7

Such being the state of religion and its establishments in Ireland, it is impossible to examine the subject, however slightly, without being struck by some grave reflections. Who that has his mind unimbued by the bias or the prejudice of determined preconceptions can look upon such facts without astonishment and alarm? Nothing is more clearly demonstrated by them, in the first place, than that the Roman Catholic religion flourishes, and has continually flourished notwithstanding all the exertions made to discourage and root it out;

\* The sum here set down as voted to the Church of Rome is the Educational Grant to Maynooth. The vote to the Protestant Dissenters was for salaries directly to the Ministers of that Church.

while, on the other hand, the only religion consequent upon the English rule and policy of government that has laid hold of a considerable body of the people is not that of the Established Church, but Presbyterianism. Subtract the English landlords and their immediate retainers and dependants and there will be found but few Protestants in the country. Not Englishmen, therefore, or their religion, can be said to have become settled in Ireland, but Scotchmen and Presbyterianism.

Another thing important to notice is the bold contradiction exhibited between the law and the facts of the case, and the opposition of both to those principles which the most eminent Protestant authorities have laid down as the only proper rule and guide in such matters. To this may be added the further contradiction to be marked between our Irish practice in this matter, and the course we have not hesitated to follow in other parts of the empire.

In England, the majority of the people profess the Protestant religion, and accordingly the Protestant Church is established by law.

In Scotland the Presbyterian religion is professed by the majority of the people, and there again the Presbyterian is the established church by law. But, as in Scotland, there have always been found episcopalian Protestants of rank and consideration, the law has recognised and respected the clergy of that church officiating in Scotland, and given them definite stations, honours, and rights.

In Canada, the Roman Catholic religion was the religion of the majority of the people when the province became attached to the English crown, and accordingly there we declared the Roman Catholic religion the established religion. But many Protestants settling in the province, provision was made for their ecclesiastical wants, and now the two religions are established, and each has its church, its church lands, estates, rights, and properties fairly defined and equally upheld by law.

In Newfoundland, at Sydney, and in other colonies, our law not only recognises, but pays the clergy of the three churches, Protestant, Presbyterian, and Roman Catholic.

In all these cases the law accepts and maintains the facts as they are found to exist : so far it deals with different forms of Christianity. But the law has done more—it has applied the same principle, in the East Indies, to the religion of the Hindoos and of Mahomet—to heathenism in short. Both have been accepted and maintained by British law as established religions, because they are such in point of fact. To nothing, in the opinion of the Duke of Wellington, do we stand more indebted for the preservation of our Indian empire than to the wise policy which has always led us to abstain from interfering with the support of the religion of the natives. But, while thus deferring to the opinions of the majority of the people in that part of the world, provision has at the same time been properly made for the conscientious requirements of the Christian inhabitants.

Such have been the proceedings of our government in the matter of religious endowments generally, and so far they have gone in strict accordance with the principles laid down by the most eminent Protestant divines, who in truth do not appear to have been troubled with many differences of opinion upon the subject. Amongst them Bishop Warburton and Dr. Paley are the authorities most frequently cited. They both discuss the question fully, and set aside as untenable the principle of maintaining a religion simply because it is the true one. That, according to Bishop Warburton, (*“ Essay on the Alliance between Church and State ”*) *“ would be full both of absurdity and mischief ; because the civil magistrate, as such, hath no right to determine which is the true religion, this power not having been given him on man’s entering into society. Nor could it be given to him, because one man cannot empower another to determine for him in matters of religion. Therefore he not being judge, and there being no other to be found with authority to arbitrate between him and the several schemes of religion, he hath no right to establish his own.”* For, he adds, a little further on, *“ It would be contrary to the fundamental laws of society by making men contribute to the maintenance of opinions which they reject and think false.”*



The Bishop discusses this question in a style so masterly that another extract or two will not be out of place:—

“I request my reader to have this always in mind, THAT THE TRUE END FOR WHICH RELIGION IS ESTABLISHED IS NOT TO PROVIDE FOR THE TRUE FAITH BUT FOR CIVIL UTILITY (the capitals are in the original) as the key to open to him the whole mystery of this controversy; and the clew to lead him safe through all the intricacies and perplexities in which it has been involved.

“Hitherto,” he adds, “I have considered that alliance between Church and State which produces an establishment, only under its more simple form, that is, where there is but one religion in the State; but it may so happen that either at the time of the convention, or afterwards, there may be *more than one*.

“If there be more than one at the time of the convention, the State allies itself with the *largest* of these religious societies. It is fit the State should do so, because the larger the society is, where there is an equality in other points, the better enabled it will be to answer the ends of an alliance, as having the greatest number under its influence. It is scarcely possible it should do otherwise; because the two societies being composed of the same individuals, the greatly prevailing religion must have a majority of its members in the assemblies of state, who will naturally prefer their own religion to any other.

“From hence may be seen the reason why the Episcopal is the Established Church in England, and the Presbyterian the Established Church of Scotland; and the equity of that conversion which our adversaries have represented as so egregious an absurdity, in point of right, that it is sufficient to discredit the reason of all Establishments.

“Hence, too, may be seen the truth of what was before observed, concerning the duration of this Alliance, that it is perpetual, but *not irrevocable*; i. e. that it *subsists just so long AS THE CHURCH THEREBY ESTABLISHED MAINTAINS ITS SUPERIORITY OF EXTENT; which, when it loses to any considerable degree, the Alliance becomes void*. For, the United Church being no longer able to perform its part of the convention, which is formed on reciprocal conditions, the State becomes disengaged—and a *new Alliance* is of course contracted with the *now prevailing Church*, for the reasons which made the old. Thus formerly the alliance between the Pagan Church and the Empire of Rome was dissolved, and the Christian established in its place; and of late the alliance between the Popish Church and the Kingdom of England was broken, and another made with the Protestant, in its stead.”—*Warburton's Works*, 4to., London, 1788, Vol. IV. p. 237.

Dr. Paley, in his Essay on “Religious Establishments and

Toleration," after echoing the doctrine laid down by the Bishop, saying that "the authority of a Church Establishment is founded on utility," has the following passage:—

"But, after the right of the Magistrate to establish a particular religion has been on this principle admitted, a doubt sometimes presents itself, whether the religion which he ought to establish be that which he himself professes, or that which he observes to prevail amongst the majority of the people. Now, when we consider this question with a view to the formation of a general rule upon the subject (which view alone can furnish a just solution of the doubt), it must be assumed to be an equal chance whether of the two religions contains more of truth—that of the magistrate or that of the people. The chance, then, that is left to truth being equal upon both suppositions, the remaining consideration will be, from which arrangement more efficacy can be expected—from an order of men to teach the people their own religion, or to convert them to another? In my opinion, the advantage lies on the side of the former scheme; and this opinion, if it be assented to, makes it the duty of the magistrate in the choice of the religion he establishes, to consult the faith of the nation rather than his own."

Is it not then plain that religion, and its Establishments in Ireland, form an exception and contradiction to the principles applicable to the case itself and to our practice in other parts of the empire? Here, again, we do in Ireland what we deem it unsafe or inexpedient to attempt elsewhere. So marked a defect has led to many proposals for a better state of things. Some have urged the abolition of the Established Church, and the application of its revenues to other purposes; so that all religions should for the future stand upon equal terms, and maintain themselves. This scheme is wild and unreasonable in the extreme: if a government was to be founded for the first time, perhaps such a rule might answer; the people would provide accordingly: but where expences to a large amount are being incurred on account of religion, and considerable ecclesiastical funds exist, it would be a wanton exercise of power to confiscate a property devoted for ages to this one object, and to tell all the parties interested—You must now raise anew the means of supporting your respective Establishments. But even though the proposition was

defensible on the score of abstract soundness, it would fail as a practicable measure, in consequence of the diversity of opinions prevailing respecting the proper use to be made of the confiscated property—which some would apply to purposes of education ; and others in aid of the poor law. It would be equally just to spend it on model prisons, model lodging-houses, or on a system of rewards for the encouragement of the working classes, and the useful arts which supply their comforts and means of employment. But it is vain to discuss speculations of this kind : they are impracticable. There is in both countries, and throughout the empire, more than one body of men disconnected with the Protestant Church whose wealth, influence, and respectability would be sure to defeat the execution of such a scheme, if any minister—which seems improbable in the extreme—could be found so rash as to propound it.

Is it then to be assumed that there is no reasonable course to be adopted upon the subject of religion in Ireland ?—Assuredly there is a very simple one. Let the law of the case correspond with the facts of the case. We have had, for ages past, and we are sure to have for a length of time to come, three religions established in point of fact—let them be established in point of law also. This is not only common justice, it is likewise common sense. Suppose three ministers from the same parish in Ireland, the one Protestant, the next Presbyterian, and the third Roman Catholic, to be brought together before a court of justice, or suppose them to meet in the presence of the sovereign, is it not absurd—nay, is it not culpable to pretend that only *one* of them is the clergyman of the parish ? Is not the law made to express a positive untruth when it is strained to a misrepresentation so palpably at variance with undeniable facts ?

Let us then begin the necessary work of reformation by removing, in the first place, so false a state of things as the one just referred to. We shall take nothing from the Protestant minister by recognising in his Presbyterian and Roman Catholic brethren those rights which are secure as matter of fact, however inadmissible at present as matter of law. We should



rather strengthen the cause of Protestantism by this course ; for we should then divest it of the last reproach of illiberality and oppression ; and its clergy can hardly fail to know, as Swift observed, that no priesthood is ever popular until it is persecuted.\*

The personal testimony borne in favour of this course of proceeding is over-abundant. As specimens of the evidence two extracts are subjoined :—

“The almost total dependence of the Romish clergy of Ireland,” “on their people for the means of subsistence is, the cause, according to my best judgment, why upon every popular commotion they have been, and until measures of better policy are adopted always will be, found in the ranks of sedition and opposition to the established government. The peasant will love a revolution because he feels the weight of poverty, and has not often the sense to perceive that a change of masters may render it heavier. The priest must follow the impulse of the popular wave, or be left behind on the beach to perish.

“There was a time indeed when superstition was of force to uphold the credit and revenues of the Church of Rome, even where convulsions shook to pieces the fabric of civil government. But the reign of superstition is either past or passing ; at least, if it hold the mind of the believer, it is not by many degrees so effectual as formerly to open his purse. Holy oil and indulgences and absolution have fallen very much in their price ; confessions are, comparatively speaking, unproductive ; and even the golden mine of purgatory seems to be running to a thread. Voluntary contribution, the main resource of the priest, must depend upon his popularity : ‘Live with me, and live as I do ; oppress me not with superior learning or refinement ; take thankfully what I choose to give you, and

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\* A higher dignitary of the Church in Ireland, Dr. Law, Bishop of Elphin, uttered sentiments in the House of Lords, when speaking to another question, which well deserve to be remembered. They breathe the pure spirit of Christianity, and were evidently marked by a forecast of the only true policy applicable to the subject. “He looked,” he said, “upon his Roman Catholic brethren as fellow subjects and fellow Christians, believers in the same God and partners in the same Redemption. Speculative differences, in some points of faith, from him, were of no account ; they and he had but one religion—that of Christianity. Therefore, as children of the same Father, as travelling on the same road, and seekers of the same salvation, why not love each other as brothers ? It was no part of Protestantism to persecute Catholics ; and, *without justice to the Catholics, there could be no security for the Protestant Establishment.*”

earn it by compliance with my political creed or conduct.' Such, when justly translated, is the language of the Irish cottager to his priest. It is language which will be listened to in proportion to the exigency of the case. A sturdy moralist will do his duty in spite of penury : admirable, and not to be looked for among the common herd of mankind, is the virtue which can menace the actual want of bread.

"The remedy for this defect, in the present political system of Ireland, should seem to be as easy as it is obvious." \*

Such having been the views of a Protestant bishop at one period of commotion, let us take those of a Roman Catholic priest at another period of the same complexion.

"Let us view the conduct of the Irish priests this time past as instructors of their people. Have they attended to the preaching of the gospel? Have they inculcated the principles of the Catholic religion? Their congregations every where have shown an utter disregard to law and to the constituted authorities; nothing among them but sedition and insubordination, burning and maiming, murder and massacre, mob law, in short the greatest of all curses, the order of the day. What did the priests, the guides, and pastors of the people do under these circumstances? Did they set their faces against the unhappy state of things? Did they preach obedience and subordination? Did they inculcate submission to the authority of law; or aid in preserving the peace and tranquillity of society; all which they were bound to do as ministers of the gospel and priests of the Roman Catholic Church? This is a position that cannot be disputed. It has been always the boast of the Roman Catholic Church that she teaches her children to observe the laws, to respect the civil magistrate, and to do nothing inconsistent with the public peace and with individual security. The Irish Catholic priests have not this time past preached these doctrines to the people. It would be too much perhaps to say that the priests themselves were the original instigators of the misguided multitude. There is no doubt that many of them acted a prominent part in the business, and the impression on the minds of the common people was, and is, that the priests gave it their full and unqualified sanction. But many of them yielded reluctantly to the torrent, and appeared to give their approbation to that which they in reality condemned. They went with the multitude instead of guiding the multitude, and suffered religion and morality to be completely turned topsy turvy. What was the cause of all this? Many causes may no

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\* "A Narrative of what passed at Killala in 1798, by an Eye Witness," 5th edit., 1809, p. 91.

doubt be assigned. National and religious prejudices might have had a share—sectarian hatred, cowardice—a general perversity of morals. But can it be said that the present state of clerical dependence for support upon a capricious multitude had no share in determining this unbecoming conduct on the part of the Irish Catholic priesthood? The multitude held the strings of the clerical purse, and woe betide the unfortunate priest who would set himself in opposition to their wishes. As a body they became all powerful in this respect. The common cry among them was that they would not uphold any priest who would not back them in their proceeding, and instances could be produced where this threat was carried into execution, and upright individuals of the clerical body were made the objects of every species of injustice and persecution. The dread of poverty, and of being cast off by those to whom they looked for subsistence, consisted powerfully to make the body at large to become mere time-servers, and overlook the obligations of their sacred ministry.

“It was a kind of general apostacy arising from base considerations of self-interest. Accordingly they either preached or countenanced lawless combination, and suffered the temple to be profaned.

“‘Dicite pontifices in sancto quid facit aurum.’\* ”

“Would they have thus deserted the interests of religion, and belied their own sentiments, if they did not derive their means of subsistence from the casual offerings of this same headstrong and unreflecting multitude? If they had nothing to fear on this head, if they were not necessitated to look for marriage money, and confession money, and baptism money, and mass money, and anointing money, from farmers, from tradesmen, and from labourers, think ye that they would not admonish the people, according to the maxims of the gospel and the doctrine of St. Paul, to obey those that are placed over us, and to be subject to the higher powers, not only for wrath but for conscience-sake, or would they have suffered the house of God, which should be a house of prayer, to be turned into a den of thieves? Their state of servile dependence, joined to a number of other untoward circumstances, make them dumb dogs in Israel: cause them to give up or abuse the exercise of sacerdotal authority, and to be unmindful of the apostles, the prophets, and the law.”—*Croly's Essay*, pp. 38, 39, 40.

Two amendments of the law, therefore, may be here suggested:—First, we should not merely recognise Presbyterian and Roman Catholic clergymen, as clergymen in their respective parishes and chapels—but we should invest them

\* E'en religion is undermined by gold.



with precisely the same freeholds in their glebes, parsonages, and places of worship as the Protestant rector enjoys. Secondly, the law should authorize the constitution of Presbyterian and Roman Catholic vestries in every parish. Mr. O'Connell was an advocate for such institutions : they could hardly fail to work beneficially. In England vestries have been of more use in a national point of view than is generally supposed. They have diffused throughout the body politic, in all its parts, the habit of managing local affairs ; they have created men of business in every rank of life ; they have implanted that respect for constitutional forms which has more than any thing else preserved our liberties and the constitution whole and unimpaired ; they have also tended to break and round off the sharper powers of clerical dominion, bringing the priest and his congregation into familiar contact upon that most tender of issues—pecuniary interests ; and checking the growth of abuses, by enabling the parishioners to examine and settle in concert all current charges, and any new claims that may be pressed against their resources for the benefit of the Church or the clergy.

But the question remains to be put and answered—Is it fit to establish the Roman Catholic Church and to provide payment for its bishops and priests ? There are many ways of treating this proposition, but in all the conclusion will be found direct and perfect. If we argue upon principle and authorities, the case is to be disposed of at once by Bishop Warburton and Dr. Paley. If from principle we descend to expediency, we shall find their reasoning of tenfold strength, when applied to the existing state of things. The repeal of the Test Acts and the emancipation of the Roman Catholics have brought forward a moving power which could not formerly touch or control the argument practically, but which now impels it into action with irresistible force. Much that used to be right in point of reasoning only is now right in point of law. In the British empire religious opinions are free at last—free in point of reality as well as in theory. Different forms of divine worship are equally respected by the law, and a man's

preferment in life is no longer a consequence or a reward of prayers said in a particular church. If our statesmen would legislate with safety and effect, they will hasten to make the statute-book conform in every respect to this state of facts. Opposition, no doubt, will be offered to such a course of proceeding; although, both in point of justice and of policy, it is defensible upon the highest and strongest considerations. For even men of sense and temper are brought with difficulty to consult their reason upon questions of religion. Occasionally they cannot escape from the obligation to do so; they find upon reflection that the conclusion presented to them is irresistible, but even then they seldom yield to it a prompt or gracious acquiescence. So that it seems not too much to say, that he only deserves to be truly called a wise and dispassionate man who will act with impartiality where his religious prejudices are concerned. Time and the slow progress which truth, once established, is always sure to make, are our only grounds of consolation or confidence upon this part of the case. How long was the interval that passed between the day when the principle of religious freedom was first set up and boasted of in England and the day when it came to be fairly put in force! But it has come—we are moving in its genial influence, and may proceed with a firm belief in the effects of its full development.

A common fear, real or affected, is, that if any endowment of the Roman Catholic religion should take place, essential aid would thus be given to the further propagation of that form of divine worship. But this does not appear by any means to be a certain consequence. The importance of religious institutions for the purpose of extending and perpetuating particular opinions and principles, has been much overrated. Statesmen seem to have been equally misled by their inclinations and their aversions in this respect—by what they have zealously done, and have studiously abstained from doing. No doubt when circumstances are favourable, and the current of public opinion flows in a particular direction, the establishment of an institution for the purpose of providing it with suitable chan-

nels of communication, and governing the ideas thus favoured will prove efficient. The ideas will spread and be strengthened so long as the temper of the times inclines to them, but no longer. Let that change, and the institution fails utterly, be it ever so richly endowed. If the subject-matter should become unpopular, or if its inculcation do not harmonize with the thoughts, interests, or dispositions prevailing around, the institution will go for nothing. It will stand like some untenanted mansion in an old town, too large and inconvenient for modern use and purposes.

There cannot be a clearer proof adduced of the correctness of this remark than the one furnished by the state of religion in Ireland past and present. The Protestant Church was established and richly endowed; state distinction and court precedence were added to make it more imposing and attractive. But it never took root, and if the Anglo-Irish landowners who are its principal supporters were withdrawn, the number of its communicants would be few indeed. Now this condition is the product of three centuries of favouritism. On the other hand, the Roman Catholic Church which the state has persecuted so long, which it has never endowed and hardly recognised as an existing institution, has luxuriated in fecundity. Like grass trodden into the earth it has sprung up all the stronger and healthier from every persecution. This seems to be the fixed law of nature; persecuted opinions have always flourished: it is freedom alone that surely tests false doctrines, and gives to truth its just and permanent ascendancy.

All our experience thus tends to show that the Protestant Established Church is not destined to prosper in Ireland, or to become the religion of the majority of the people while unduly upheld as it hitherto has been. The law and the fact are here at issue; the law has been announcing a positive untruth, known and undisputed throughout Christendom during the three centuries in which it has not ceased to call the religion of this Church the religion of the country. So discreditable a contradiction should be quickly corrected; and the first and



most obvious course to be taken for that purpose, is to make the law correspond with the facts. Nor is this a difficult task. It involves the commission of no wrong. Nothing is so simple and unembarrassing as the course of justice, when our prejudices allow us to trace and follow it out.

In order to make the law with regard to religion truly represent the actual state of things in Ireland, it is not necessary to pull down or damage the Protestant Church. That may or rather ought to be preserved. The real want is the legal establishment of the Roman Catholic and Presbyterian Churches to the extent which, beyond all controversy, is demanded and due to their respective holds upon the people.

Persecuted opinions entrench themselves in impregnable fortifications: while thus confined their powers of propagation are marvellous; but if set free they are exposed to the wear and tear of the conflict which never ceases to agitate and exhaust human society. Then it is that their strength is tried, and they wear out quickly or not, just as they are proved to be reasonable and just, or the reverse. Let it not be supposed that there is a law in human nature for the preservation of particular religious opinions in any degree different from the natural law that governs all else that emanates from the mind of man.

It is evident that, in every measure now to be propounded upon the subject of religion in Ireland, attention will be chiefly addressed to the political consequences likely to arise from its operation. Here, again, we are not likely to meet with unanimity. Opposition to the Roman Catholic Church is urged as decidedly upon political as upon religious grounds. But, in the controversies thus evolved, the true bearings of the case seem not unfrequently to escape consideration.

For instance, the question has been frequently mooted—and very different are the opinions expressed upon it—as to whether the Roman Catholic religion can ever be any other than an aid and instrument of Conservative politics. The authorities, both in point of number and ability, incline to the affirmative of the proposition. There are writers on the other hand, of high reputation and judgment, who advocate the

contrary opinion as the true one. Amongst the latter is M. de Tocqueville, from whose work on Democracy in America the following passages are translated :—

“ I think that the Catholic religion has been erroneously looked upon as the natural enemy of democracy. Amongst the various sects of Christians, Catholicism seems to me, on the contrary, to be one of those which are most favourable to equality of condition. In the Catholic Church the religious community is composed of only two elements, the priest and the people. The priest alone rises above the rank of his flock, and all below him are equal.

“ On doctrinal points the Catholic faith places all human capacity upon the same level ; it subjects the wise and the ignorant, the man of genius and the vulgar crowd, to the details of the same creed ; it imposes the same observances upon the rich and the needy ; it inflicts the same austerities upon the strong and the weak ; it listens to no compromise with mortal man, but, reducing all the human race to the same standard, it confounds all the distinctions of society at the foot of the same altar, even as they are confounded in the sight of God.

“ It has not unfrequently occurred that the Catholic priest has left the service of the altar to mix with the governing powers of society, and to take his place amongst the civil gradations of men. This religious influence has sometimes been used to secure the interests of that political state of things to which he has belonged ; at other times Catholics have taken the side of aristocracy from a spirit of religion.

“ But no sooner is the priesthood entirely separated from the government, as is the case in the United States, than it is found that no class of men are more naturally disposed than the Catholics to transfuse the doctrines of equality of condition into the political world.”

This, no doubt, is a correct analysis of the genuine or primitive spirit of Catholicity. We have here the theory and some portions of the reality set forth with point and force. It is a fact, that no religion can be more purely democratic than the Roman Catholic, when administered in the tone and key of its original destination, under a republican form of government. We have only to refer to the history of Ireland for the last twenty years to see how efficaciously it tends to democracy, when dissevered from the state. If Mr. O’Connell’s career of agitation had not been cheered and upheld by the great body of Roman Catholic prelates and priests in Ireland, it would not have availed to derange the constitution or

have exploded, when the clergy held back, in an abortive insurrection. Under all other circumstances there are the strongest grounds for insisting upon the correctness of the common belief, to which M. de Tocqueville objects, that the proper influence of the Roman Catholic religion, as now constituted, tends in a remarkable manner to the maintenance of aristocratic institutions and rules of government. For, unquestionably; whenever the hierarchy of that religion is to be met with, sheltered by the structure and associated with the forms of absolute power, the two prove to be so congenial, they harmonise so readily the moment they come in contact, that they are invariably found to settle down together, and ever after to strengthen and confirm their mutual interests by a joint course of reciprocal action. Upon the whole, therefore, we are perhaps justified in accommodating the dispute by a marked distinction—maintaining, on the one hand, that the leading principles of the Roman Catholic religion, abstractedly considered, are democratic, in the highest, the best, and most humane sense of the term; but, on the other hand, that the machinery and superstructure of the Church are decidedly aristocratic.

Upon this view of the question, the mistake in M. de Tocqueville's argument is easy of detection. He takes his view of the Roman Catholic religion in the primitive, and not the modern, ages of Christianity. The apostolic era is the only one we are acquainted with of which it can be correctly averred that "the community of the Church is composed of only two elements—the priest and the people." If we attempt to reconcile this representation with the actual hierarchy of the Church of Rome, headed and systematised by its Pope, Cardinals, Archbishops, Bishops, and a pompous train of attending dignitaries—and, above all, by its general councils, from which the great body of the mere priesthood is excluded, we shall find the description inapplicable. The various parts will not fit in—the simple limits of the ancient edifice will not afford room for the modern excrescences. In making these remarks, it is not at all necessary to contend against M. de



Tocqueville's theory of the Roman Catholic religion. That, however, will leave the question as first presented. What the Founder of Christianity may have intended his religion to be is one thing; and what men and the current of events have combined to render certain forms of that religion is quite another thing.

And now a word upon the case of religion in Ireland generally, as suggested by this line of argument. There is one observation to be made upon it, which is indisputably true and full of meaning:—the elements of democracy and opposition to Government are presented in a much more tangible and effective condition by the Presbyterian than by the Roman Catholic Church. But we have conciliated, gratified, and sustained the Presbyterians by especial favours, by pecuniary aids and grants; and what has happened? Its clergy,\* as a body, have always been found on the side of Government in moments of political danger. With the Roman Catholics the opposite course has been pursued, and the consequences have corresponded. We have reaped as we sowed.

A provision for the support of the Roman Catholic clergy is not a new project, nor one unaccompanied by the authority of eminent patrons. It was propounded by Mr. Pitt as a companion measure to the Union. By the Irish Government the project was referred to the Bishops, who published their opinion in these terms:—"At a meeting of the Roman Catholic

\* A Presbyterian minister seldom appears as a political agitator in Ireland; but it is worthy of passing note that, in the insurrection of 1798 and the affair of 1848, Presbyterians were principal leaders of the disaffected—as, for instance, Wolfe Tone, Mitchell, and Martin. Another and strong instance of the care with which the Government has abstained from interfering with the religious prejudices of the Presbyterians is afforded by the application of the Act for the Payment of Ministers' Money in Ireland. By that law the Irish Government is empowered to order a certain sum to be paid by every householder in large towns for the support of the Protestant clergy. This tax amounts to about £15,000 a year, and it is levied in the principal Roman Catholic towns—Dublin, Cork, Limerick, and Waterford; but it has *never* been imposed upon the Presbyterian towns. Belfast, Londonderry, and all Ulster, are wholly exempt from its operation.

Prelates, held at Dublin on the 17th, 18th, and 19th of January, 1799, to deliberate on a proposal from Government, of an independent provision for the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland, under certain regulations not incompatible with their doctrines, discipline, or just influence :—

“It was admitted, that a provision, through Government for the Roman Catholic clergy of this kingdom, competent and secured, ought to be thankfully accepted.”\*

The four Archbishops and six Bishops signed this paper. But the Union being carried, the project slumbered. In the session of 1825 it was submitted to Parliament in a definite form as one of the “Emancipation wings” by the present Earl of Ellesmere, then Lord Leveson Gower. It was revived by Lord Alvanley in a well written pamphlet, “The State of Ireland Considered,” in the year 1841; and was emphatically recommended to the notice of the House of Lords by the Earl of Ellenborough in the session of 1848.†

\* In citing this declaration of the prelates in the year 1799, it is proper to add that their successors have more than once passed resolutions expressing the contrary opinion.

† Lord Ellenborough’s plan seems to be to devote £4,500,000, advanced as a loan, for the relief of the famine of 1846-8, to the provision of glebes and glebe houses for the Roman Catholic clergy. It was on the second reading of the Public Works (Ireland, No. II.) Bill, that his lordship is reported to have spoken as follows :—

“The Earl of Ellenborough did not object to the principle of the bill. Nothing which had occurred had put him out of temper with the people of Ireland; on the contrary, he would gladly do all in his power to improve their condition. The entire sum which could be appropriated by this measure to the improvement of Ireland was four millions and a half sterling; but he was convinced that it was of no use to improve the soil of Ireland, without first improving the social state of that country, which was worse than that of any other civilised nation in Europe. There were, as the late Lord Liverpool had said, two Irelands, the north and south—Protestant Ireland and Catholic Ireland. But it was not because of her religion, or that she had been conquered, or that a large portion of her property had been confiscated, that the present condition of that country had been produced. What then was the cause of the existing social state of Ireland? He believed it to be this:—that the religion of the Church of the great majority of the people was repudiated by this country. What then, he would ask, was the remedy?—not to take the revenues of the Protestant Church to support Catholicism—for the union was based upon the Protestant religion; neither would he give stipends to the Catholic clergy; but he would call attention to this large fund to be appropriated to the purposes of Ireland, and ask who could

A project which has thus maintained itself by the vitality of circumstances and its own merits for half a century must be carried. The real difficulty our statesmen have to deal with is obvious enough:—certain prejudices of long standing and peculiar tenacity are to be overcome or appeased. If the case could be cleared of that impediment, it might be carried off hand. But the truth is, the idea of a Roman Catholic endowment is unpalatable to the mass of the English people. They dislike it politically as well as religiously. They imposed upon Ireland, many years ago, a church which does not celebrate the form of divine worship cherished by the people of the country; and, although in England the number of those now attached to that form of faith is much less than was the case when the proceeding itself took place; still, a large and powerful body of the nation approve, and would maintain the arrangement. For the English are always prepared to cling to everything that is conceived to have been nationally done, or for national objects. Their pride as a people is evinced in nothing more strongly than the firmness with which they stand by prejudices of this kind. Now the Protestant

object to apply it—contributed as it would be by the people of Ireland—to the purchasing of glebe, and building glebe houses for the Roman Catholic clergy, leaving other matters just as they were? He could not conceive how any objection could be raised to such an appropriation by the most zealous religionist. He did not recommend that the Roman Catholics should be assisted in their religious duties and ceremonies; he merely desired that they should be placed in a position of respectability and independence, in order that a right direction should be given to their minds, and their power and authority for doing good exercised. This was no new opinion of his. It was an opinion he had formed early in life. It was the opinion of Lord Castlereagh, who never thought of removing Catholic disabilities without connecting with that measure the endowment of the Roman Catholic clergy. That statesman thought the two questions identical, and had not hesitated to come forward and avow his opinions on the subject. He considered that a time of difficulty was the time when those who thought strongly on public questions, and to whom the constitution had entrusted legislative powers, ought to come forward and avow their opinions, however unpopular such opinions might be."

Lord Monteaigle followed, strongly advocating the principle of a state provision, and asserting that George III., much as he was opposed to the concession of the Catholic claims, approved of the endowment of the Roman Catholic clergy.



Church of Ireland is one of these—and it must be treated accordingly.

Examples of violent mis-reasoning are to be traced to this characteristic foible. Men are to be found who assure us with a grave face that the revenues, honours, and immunities of the Established Church are not more than it is proper to bestow *religionis gratiâ* on a population of eight millions:—as if eight-tenths of that population did not eschew the Church as an error and a mischief! But the point presses too sharply not to be sensibly felt by the more judicious of the community. And the question is—giving as we do so much to the Established Church, which is the Church of a small minority, is it reasonable to expect that the majority will rest content while nothing is given to their Church? They always have felt, and they will continue to feel, that they too ought to have their religious revenues and distinctions. They may not covet those of the Protestant Establishment—they may not be despoilers at heart; but this assuredly they are, and will be—dissatisfied men, under the influence of an offended priesthood, who complain that they are denied by the Government the rank, emoluments, and consideration which are part and parcel of the essential character and composition of their hierarchy.

The number of those is lessening daily who venture to assert that the matter is not urgent, and that Parliament need not care to seek for schemes or discussions relating to it. Every man who now speaks, upon reflection, admits that it is time to do something. If, then, we are to legislate, let it be according to the dictates of human nature, not according to the impulse of religious prejudice. Let us put aside all fiction; let us deal with things as they are, not as we could wish them to be; and, above all, let us not excite those feelings in others which, as all experience teaches, are as sure to beget resentment as the seed that is sown in the ground produces the grain that grows out of it. If it were possible in Ireland to realise the scheme of the proverb, and give every priesthood a clear stage and no favour, a statesman, however noisy the

consequent dissensions, and however inconvenient the contests for precedence and sway, might perhaps tolerate the general confusion, and even console himself in the midst of it with the reflection, that such a state of affairs gave him at least one claim to merit, namely, the purest impartiality ; but if that impartiality is beyond his reach ; if he cannot find scope or action for it ; if it be impossible to place all religions in Ireland upon a footing of equality—then the impolicy of giving all to one, and that a small body, and nothing to the large one, will be manifestly outrageous. The men who, at the present day, would bind one part of the United Kingdom by the force of law, to confer every dignity and profit, customarily set apart in Christian countries for the honour and maintenance of religion, upon one sect, and that composed of a minority of the people—while to the sect of the majority every aid, distinction, and support are refused—can only be compared to those who would gather into a house a mass of combustible materials, and heap them up close to the kitchen fire, so that the first spark falling on the pile should not fail to wrap the mansion in flames.

The evil is a stedfast one, and must be substantially grappled with. Peace in Ireland, and the contentment of Irishmen with English legislation, are unattainable if one of two things be not done. Either the Protestant Church in that country must be severed from the State, or the State must make allies of the Presbyterian and Roman Catholic Churches. No mere payment of the Roman Catholic clergy will suffice for this purpose. They are not to be retained as a police. If nothing more than a stipend was to be awarded, the prevailing dissatisfaction would continue undiminished. The Roman Catholic hierarchy pant and heave, not for lucre solely : more money is paid them, under existing circumstances, than the State could or ought to allow. What they naturally aspire to, is some confirmation of that social rank, credit, and influence which they actually enjoy with their own congregations, and prize, with the community at large, as their highest and most legitimate property. In their own Church their office is one of com-

manding authority ; and it is widely respected as a prescriptive right. We affect to disown and condemn it. We allow it civilly and politically neither vent nor recognition—neither repute nor influence ; and yet its sway spreads and flourishes despite all our wishes and exertions, luxuriating the more it is pressed down. The pain we take to give offence in this way is often a proof of sheer folly. Take, for instance, the practice of making Protestant clergymen justices of the peace, and never giving the commission either to the Presbyterian or Roman Catholic clergy. We there convey a marked compliment to one body, and as significant an insult to the other, apparently for no other object than that of gratifying the one and spiting the other.

Having now gone through most of the circumstances of the case, and having reviewed, with care and attention, the different suggestions thrown out from time to time for a satisfactory adjustment of its intricate complications, we can see but one way of arriving at a final and definite result ; and that is by undertaking to provide, by one consistent process, for all the demands legitimately pressing upon us in this direction. They should be gathered as in a focus, and then disposed of. Unquestionably, the religious property of Ireland is due to the advancement of religion, and to that only. No further attempt to tamper with that principle can be made with impunity. The Protestant Church being the Church in possession, and having enjoyed that privilege under the strong sanction of the law for centuries together, may now perhaps be allowed, upon the principle of equitable policy, to continue in the receipt of the first provision. But, for yielding that liberal advantage, the nation is entitled to a return of corresponding value, and to insist that the salaries of the bishops and priests of that church shall be proportioned to the extent and weight of their duties. There can be no reasonable grounds for awarding Protestant archbishops higher stipends than are allowed to the chief justices of the Queen's Bench and Common Pleas ; or to bishops more than is given to puisne judges. £6000 a



year for the former, and £4000 a year for the latter, would constitute liberal incomes. Nor ought any clergyman to be allowed more than £500 a year, except from the payment of such fees as are the natural fruit of an extended cure of souls—such as fees for christenings, weddings, and funerals. Pew-rents should be demanded for a certain portion of every church. Ever since the rule has been observed, of allotting part of every church to free sittings, it has been found that the taste or fashion for reserved pews has increased, and a considerable rental has thus been obtained from those who do not choose to occupy free seats. In many parishes in London, and other large towns in England, the money taken for seats let by the year is found sufficient to cover all the expenses of the church, including the salaries of the clergymen.\* If this wholesome practice was introduced in Ireland, the income of the Church would be benefited proportionably; and, what is to the full as desirable, the different religious communities would find themselves placed upon terms more nearly approaching to equality than they now are.

If, then, we were to set up, through the instrumentality and power of the clergy of the three religions, a scale of fees such as each of them should be invited to confirm as appropriate to the means of their respective congregations, church-sittings, christenings, marriages, and burials would be found to yield a considerable amount of money. To the sums thus produced the State might well come in aid, upon the plan that has already worked so well with the Presbyterians. If proper inquiries were instituted into the state of facts and opinions bearing upon this view of the case, it would probably be found that both the Presbyterians and Roman Catholics would accept it with alacrity and satisfaction; and that the demand to be made upon the State, for the purpose of carrying the details

\* The Portland Chapels, as they are called, in Marylebone, (which are Crown property, managed by the Commissioners of Woods and Forests upon the plan here stated,) are said to admit of salaries of £700 a year to the ministers of each chapel, and to leave a surplus after defraying all other expenses.

into full effect, would not be so large as has generally been represented. Unquestionably, if the four millions and a half, which the country has already advanced for the relief of the landed interest and the destitute poor, were to be applied, as repaid, to this object, an ample fund would be available to work the plan efficiently. And how wise the economy, that would devote some four or five millions sterling in that way ! The expenses of a few years of demoralizing agitation, or a single insurrection, would cost more money, yielding no benefit but the passing victory of arms ; while this would be permanent, and ever peaceful.

There is, then, but one conclusion to come to. Legislation upon the subject of religion in Ireland must, if it is to be satisfactory for the future, direct itself not to one but to three churches, because three churches are supported by the great bodies into which the population has divided itself. Interested or prejudiced persons may seek to dissemble, to pervert, or disguise the truth ; but no one can examine the question with any degree of impartiality or temper without perceiving that our laws have been at variance with what all experience has shown to be politic, and reason affirms to be just. The history of every nation displays the influence of religion in the ascendancy of the priesthood. Wherever we turn we see the priest occupying a high rank amongst the appointed instruments of order and good government. The impulse natural to man, in every stage and condition of life, to search for some hold upon eternity, and to connect himself by some palpable tie with the Divinity, has always prompted him to yield a willing obedience to those who have been held out, and represented themselves, as the ministers and expositors of sacred truth, immortality, and the deep mysteries of the world to come.

To this feeling the church, in all countries, has hitherto stood indebted for the distinguished and lucrative position it has uniformly enjoyed. Mankind has feared to incur the risk of losing the services or provoking the resentment of a class claiming for itself a power and influence ranging beyond the

scope of earthly things, and professing to develop themselves at the dread point where human knowledge terminates—the grave. In Egypt, Greece, Asia, and Rome constantly, and throughout all the states of the ancient as well as the modern world, of which any accounts have reached us, this one predominant and all-absorbing idea appears incessantly active, and with the like results everywhere, but in Ireland. There only the English Government chooses to make no provision for, and takes no heed of, the clergy of the people; while the people cling with untiring zeal and unconquerable attachment to the priesthood, who hold, as they are taught to believe, the keys that open the kingdom of heaven. The consequence is, and will be, that the clergy of the people, instead of being always found on the side of order and good government, are often to be met with fostering agitation and organising movements that have proved the forerunners of insurrection.

This question is of too vital a kind to be slurred over. It cannot be evaded, and must therefore be accommodated. It is the first and most essential ingredient of peace and prosperity. The one or the other is not to be depended upon for a day, while the priesthood of six out of eight millions of inhabitants are not aiding and co-operating with the government to promote those objects. It is needless to point out here how broadly the hostile relations of the two parties are developed in Ireland, and how sorely the want of cordiality between them makes itself felt from time to time. It is puerile, nay more, it is criminal, to affect to shut our eyes to the consequences, to pretend that they are not of the gravest kind, or to imagine that time will mitigate the dangers with which they are so heavily charged. Time will aggravate them. The Irish priest of the present day enjoys rights which were formerly denied him; and these embolden him to make known the full measure of his pretensions to respect and consideration with a freedom and an earnestness he would not have ventured to display some short time back. He is animated by the memory of past wrongs and the sense of present indignity, with but little hope of future justice. A hierarchy



bringing that state of mind to bear upon three-fourths of the population of a country is full of danger.

We are thus led to the sum of the whole case, which is shortly this : human nature and all history concur in teaching that a priesthood possessing power and influence over the great mass of a community, and yet receiving, whether from contempt or indifference will matter little, neither station, privilege, nor emolument from the government, will be found to avail itself of every means within the limits of worldly prudence and legal duty to resent the injury which they conceive to be done them, and to enforce, as far as they can, the concession of those profits and distinctions to which they hold themselves entitled by the common consent of all mankind, ancient and modern, heathen and Christian.

Here, then, is the only cue to a course of sound legislation upon religious matters in Ireland for the future. Let the clergy of the Presbyterian and Roman Catholic Churches be advanced, hand by hand, in the scale of society ; and let the ecclesiastical property of the country, after a suitable provision first made for the Protestant Church, be fairly distributed amongst the three predominant religions which are established, if not by law, in the convictions and consciences of the people. Let them both have their vestries, their legal dues, their freehold glebes and glebe-houses. Let them, in a word, be constituted, as all history shows, that a popular priesthood ought to be constituted ; and then indeed the elements of social order and good government will be erected in Ireland upon a sure basis. Omit this, or delay it, and let the law be amended and the land improved in every other respect, still the want and absence of this one requisite will make all else delusive and insecure.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### EDUCATION.

IRELAND CELEBRATED FOR LEARNING AND EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS AT A VERY EARLY AGE.—OLLAM FODLA'S COLLEGE, ARMAGH, AND OTHER SCHOOLS.—NUMBER OF IRISH SCHOLARS WHO FOUNDED SEMINARIES IN SCOTLAND, IN ENGLAND, AND ON THE CONTINENT.—NUMBER AND TREATMENT OF FOREIGNERS WHO REPAIRED TO IRELAND FOR EDUCATION.—INJURIES INFLICTED ON THE NATIVE SCHOOLS BY THE DANISH INVASION.—UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPTS TO FOUND UNIVERSITIES IN ST. PATRICK'S CATHEDRAL AND AT DROGHEDA.—SCHOLASTIC ENACTMENTS UNDER THE REIGNS OF HENRY VIII., ELIZABETH, CHARLES I., AND SUBSEQUENT SOVEREIGNS.—FOUNDATION OF DIOCESAN, ROYAL, CHARTER, BLUE-COAT, AND OTHER SCHOOLS.—THE KILDARE PLACE AND OTHER EDUCATIONAL SOCIETIES.—PARLIAMENTARY COMMISSIONS AND COMMITTEES.—INSTITUTION OF THE NATIONAL SYSTEM; ITS MARKED SUCCESS.—TRINITY COLLEGE.—MAYNOOTH COLLEGE.—THE BELFAST ACADEMICAL INSTITUTION.—THE NEW PROVINCIAL COLLEGES.—SUMMARY AND STATISTICS OF THE PROVISION MADE FOR THE EDUCATION OF THE THREE GREAT CLASSES—PROTESTANTS, ROMAN CATHOLICS, AND PRESBYTERIANS.—OUTLINE OF IMPROVEMENTS.—PLAN OF A NEW UNIVERSITY.

IRELAND was celebrated for learning and the number of its educational foundations at a very early age. This fact, strange as it may appear, is established by the concurrent testimony of a host of writers, and has already been adverted to Chap. II., Vol. I. Colleges founded upon the most generous principles are known to have flourished in Ireland when no institutions of the kind existed in England.

The learning, as well as the religion of the Druids, appears to have been highly cultivated in Ireland—where, as Cæsar tells us, all those generally repaired who desired to be thoroughly instructed in that mystery. *Et nunc qui diligentius eam rem cognoscere volunt plerumque illo discendi causa*

proficiscuntur. (*De Bel. Gal.* lib. vi. c. 13.) The Irish annalists confirm this account. We are informed, from the Lecan Records by the learned Donald McFirbiss, that no fewer than 180 Druidical tracts were committed to the flames at the instance of St. Patrick. Such an example set the converted Christians to work in all parts, till in the end all the remains of the Druidic superstition were utterly destroyed. (*O'Connor's Dissertation on the History of Ireland.*)

Amongst the numerous kings who pass before us like shadows in the dim antiquity of Irish story is Ollam Fodla; he is said to have instituted a school of general instruction before the Christian era at Tara, which became celebrated under the name of Mur-ollam-hara, or the college of the learned.\* We hear of one Iber or Heber, in the fourth century, who instructed great numbers of Irish and foreigners in sacred and polite letters at Beglin in Leinster.

Whatever may be the degree of credit due to these representations, we find the age of St. Patrick distinguished as pre-eminently educational by writers of authority.† A number

\* "Ollam Fodla," according to O'Connor, "reigned long, and to the authority of a great monarch joined the influence of a great philosopher, in forming the minds of the national youth. It was he who planned, regulated, and endowed the college of the learned in Teamor, laid down a new system of education, and made this the model of the several provincial schools for cultivating the arts, intellectual and military."

In another part of the same volume we meet with further details:—

"They began the education of youth, from their earliest infancy, by training them up to laborious exercises of body and mind; on one side, running, wrestling, shooting, performing martial evolutions, sustaining fatigues, and sometimes the rigour of hunger and cold: on the other, they made them try their strength in the Fileacht, which took in every subject regarding the human mind. They taught them the powers of verse and song, by initiating them in the mysteries of metrical cadence, vocal harmony, and graceful action. These branches of knowledge were absolutely necessary to young princes, to the candidates for the magistracy, and to the Ollavain. They were the foundations on which civil policy and private manners were erected.

"The institution of the Mur-Ollavain at Teamor gave rise, as before observed, to this course of education; and several other provincial schools were erected on the same plan, of which those of Carman, Cruachain and of Eamania, in particular, are illustrious instances."

† "St. Patrick's disciples in Ireland," says Camden, "were such great proficient in the Christian religion, that, in the age following, Ireland was termed Sanctorum Patria, or the Saints' Country. The Saxons in that age



of ecclesiastical schools appear to have been spread throughout the island about that time. There was a school at Armagh, established, we are told, by the saint himself, and entrusted to the care of his disciple Benignus. Saint Ailbe, after preaching the island throughout, founded his church and school at Emly; Fiech, the poet bishop, had his school at Sletty. By the sixth century, according to all accounts, these institutions had spread in various directions, but the most famous of them all, as well for the number as the superior character of its scholars, were those of Lismore and Clonard. Mr. Moore says there were as many as 3000 students at Clonard at one time. This assertion, however, is not borne out by the passage from Martyr Dungal, cited as the authority for it:—Finianus Abbas de Cluaineraird, magister sanctorum Hiberniæ, habuit enim in sua schola de Cluaineraird tria millia sanctorum. Here evidently there is nothing to warrant the introduction of the words “at one time.” The fair meaning of the sentence is, that St. Finian had educated whilst abbot 3000 religious persons altogether, that is, he had 3000 students.

St. Cathaldus was one of the most celebrated scholars of Lismore school. His life, said to have been written by Bonaventura Moronus, describes the youth of that age pouring into Lismore, led by the gentle love of study.

Undique conveniunt procures quos dulce trahebat  
Discendi studium, major num cognita virtus  
An laudata foret.  
Certatim hi properant diverso tramite ad urbem  
Lesmoriam juvenis primos ubi transegit annos.

The Danish irruptions swept away many of these institutions, and checked the extension of others. Numerous incidents will be found particularised in Moore's History of

flocked there as to the great mart of learning, and this is the reason why we so often read in our authors of holy men being sent to Ireland for their education. Anglo-Saxones etiam illa ætate in Hiberniam, tanquam ad bonorum literarum mercaturam undique confluerunt: unde viris sanctis sæpissime nostris scriptoribus legitur, amandatus est ad disciplinam in Hiberniam.”

Ireland, to prove the extent of the injury thus inflicted. The school and sacred edifices of Armagh were burned in the ninth century, but the disaster was overcome.\* Eminent scholars from abroad are found visiting Armagh in the next century, and during the interval of its misfortunes education thrived at Clonmacnois, Devenish, and Kildare. The annals of Munster record that, in the year 812, the Danes burned the abbey of Derry, and massacred the clergy and students. Probus, author of a life of St. Patrick, in two books, was chief lecturer of the school of Slane, and met his death during an attack made by the Danes upon the church, in the year 950. Clonmacnois was cruelly pillaged in its turn.

But of all the testimony that has been borne to the state of education in Ireland, at this early period, none can be held more decisive or complimentary than the accounts preserved by foreign writers of the reception given by the Irish to students coming amongst them, and the number of Irishmen who spread themselves over England and the continent, diffusing knowledge and raising educational establishments wherever they appeared. Venerable Bede tells us that Englishmen were cordially welcomed when they presented themselves at the Irish schools of this era, and were supplied with food, with books, and masters, all gratuitously. The words are worth quoting:—

“*Erant ibidem eo tempore multi nobilium simul et mediocrum de gente Anglorum, qui tempore Finiani et Colmani Episcoporum relicta insula patria, vel divinæ lectionis, vel continentioris vitæ gratia, illo secesserant*

\* The Abbé McGeoghan is of opinion that these schools had recovered their full prosperity in the interval between the battle of Clontarf and the English invasion. Usher, speaking more modestly, is content to detect traces of the Academy of Armagh during the ninth and tenth centuries, notwithstanding the Norwegian storms and tempests raging through that era. One case of note is quoted to prove the undiminished reputation of education in Ireland at this time. Sulgenus, afterwards Bishop of St. David's, as we are told, moved by the love of study, and following the example of his forefathers, visited the Irish, celebrated for their learning.

*Exemplo patrum, commotus amore legendi,  
Ivit ad Hibernos sophia mirabile claros.*

et quidem mox se monasticæ conversationi fideliter mancipaverunt. Alii magis circumeundo per cellas magistrorum lectioni operam dare gaudebant quos omnes Scoti\* libentissime suscipientes, victum eis quotidianum sine pretio, libros quoque ad legendem et magisterium gratuitim præbere curabant."—*Hist. Angl.* lib. iii. c. 27.

A long roll might be composed of the names of Irish ecclesiastics who were received with open arms in Scotland,† in England, in France, Germany, Alsace, along the banks of the Rhine, and in Switzerland; where they became the founders of monastic seminaries, even more flourishing than those in which they had been reared at home. Amongst these pious and accomplished men were Celestius, already mentioned as the bold disciple of Pelagius; Columbkil, the founder of Iona. Columbanus, exemplary as a monk, erudite as a scholar, and tasteful as a poet, was the founder of a monastery at Bobbio, where he died, A.D. 615. His disciple, Cummian, was another saint, and a writer of classical Latin.‡ Figenius, patronised by the widow of Otho the Great, founded the Tymphorian Abbey of Metz. Mimborin, an Irishman, was the first abbot of a celebrated monastery at Cologne. Helias, his successor, belonged to the monastery of Monaghan. Duncan, an Irish bishop, taught in the monastery of St. Remigius at Rheims. There is, in the British Museum, a manuscript copy of a work written by him for the use of the students under his care. Better known still are two poets of the names of Sedulius, or

\* The later writers of the Middle Ages used to call Ireland, Scotia Majora, and the Irish consequently Scoti. Usher is the best authority to consult upon this point: he shows clearly that the name Scot applied to Irishmen only down to the eleventh century.

† Glastonbury Monastery appears to have been founded by Irishmen, who settled there some time before the year 940, and named their school after St. Patrick: "Nec Normannorum solum, sed Anglo-Saxonum quoque temporibus apud Glastonienses B. Patricii fuisse memoriam, Baldredi, Inæ et Ealdri ostendunt chartæ.—*Ush. Eccles. Primord.*

‡ The Irish monasteries must have been held to have served the cause of literature in another respect. They were in the habit of maintaining each its own scribe. "Alibi indicavi," says Dr. O'Connor, (*Rerum Hibern. Scrip. Epist. Sunc.*) celebriora Hiberniæ Monasteria amanuensem aluisse, scriblim appellatum." It is, no doubt, to the leisure of those learned persons that we stand indebted for the number of Irish annals and lives of the saints that have descended to us.



Sheil. Donatus and Virgilius, or Feargal, also poets, and the celebrated John Scotus Erigena, who wrote, we are assured, a work that was condemned by the Church because it could not be answered.\*

Scholastic theology having been the literature of Europe during all this time, Churchmen or monks were for successive ages the only teachers. Their attainments are spoken of with more fulness and precision by William of Malmesbury than by any other old writer. William, in his *Life of St. Dunstan*, describes that ecclesiastical hero as studying diligently and pleasantly under the Irish monks, whose system and subjects of instruction he particularises to this extent:—  
 “Arithmeticam, porro, cum geometria et astronomia ac musica, quæ appendent, gratanter addicit et diligenter excoluit. Harum scientiarum Hibernienses pro magno pollicentur—cæterum ad formanda Latine verba et ad integre loquendum minus idonei.”

To these scattered particulars the summary of one of the best of Irish critical writers may well be added. Charles O'Connor, in his “*Dissertation on the History of Ireland*,” has this eloquent passage:—

“The monks set up schools, in which they educated the youth, not only of the island but of the neighbouring nations. They sent their missionaries in shoals into the continent, converting its heathen and confirming its Christian inhabitants; set up schools in those parts; and laid the foundations of the most flourishing universities in Europe. They taught the Saxons and Normans the use of letters, and they converted the Cruthneans or Picts to Christianity by the preaching of Columbkille, who quitted his right of succession to the throne of Ireland, to reign over the hearts of a foreign people, enemies to his own nation.

“When Europe groaned under the servitude of Gothic ignorance, Ireland became the prime seat of learning to all Christendom. Hither

\* So many Irish scholars with the title of Bishops found their way to the continent, in the tenth century, that they were called *Episcopi Vagantes*. So lively was the jealousy excited by their numbers and activity, as to lead to special denunciations against them in the decrees of different councils. One of these, that of Calcuith, went so far as to declare that no Irishmen should be admitted to clerical functions—“*et Scoti non admittentur sacra ministrare.*”

the sciences, such as they were in those ages, fled for protection, and here their followers and professors were amply supported. For the converted Saxons the nation erected in the west the College of Mayo, to this day called "Mayo of the Saxons;" and here it was that the Princes Alfred and Oswald received their education. In the city of Ardmacha it is affirmed that no fewer than 7000 scholars studied at the same time within its university, although the kingdom at that time contained several other academies equally celebrated, if not equally numerous. On such foundations did they cultivate Christianity at home and abroad, and thus did they fulfil the glorious commission of our Saviour to his apostles—*Go ye and teach all nations.*"

We have now to trace the records of modern times. Sir J. Ware mentions, in his *Antiquities*, that a university was for the first time founded within the city of Dublin during the reign of Edward II. The facts, collected by Mason, in the *History of St. Patrick's Cathedral*, barely warrant the assertion that a university was founded. Beyond the forms of an establishment but little seems to have been erected. A bull for this purpose was granted by Pope Clement V. to John Leche, Archbishop of Dublin, in the year 1311; but the Pope and the Archbishop dying before any progress was made with the plans, the next Archbishop, Alexander de Bicknor, obtained a bull confirmatory of the project from Pope John XXII. in the year 1320, and set up a university in St. Patrick's Cathedral. Bicknor framed statutes for its government, and appointed a chancellor and some officers. Edward III. so far patronised the undertaking, as to extend his protection to all its students. In the writ, Rot. Pat. 32 Edward III. the monarch observed of the proposed studies that, "by those who cultivate them, morality and virtue are most cherished, and peace in the land best preserved."

In the year 1364, Edward's son, Lionel, Duke of Clarence, gave the dean and chapter an acre of land at Stackallane, and the advowson of the Church, to provide for the payment of ten marks a year to a person of the order of St. Augustine, to deliver a Lecture upon Divinity, in the scholars' room. More than a century afterwards, in the year 1496, the clergy of the

province met in Synod, with Walter Fitzsimon, Archbishop of Dublin, at their head, and voted a contribution from their respective chapters and dioceses, varying from five marks to £10 a year each. We know not how far this agreement was acted on; probably to no great extent, as we find the Lord Deputy, Sir Henry Sidney, in the year 1568, appealing in vain for help to Parliament, offering himself to give the University £100 in money, and to settle £20 a year upon it in land. Such was the slender provision made during the course of nearly two centuries for the maintenance of the first University projected for Ireland. Other aid failing, the institution appears never to have attained either fulness or efficiency. Nevertheless it preserved a languid existence down to the reign of Philip and Mary. When they re-established the Cathedral of St. Patrick they set forth, as Mason has noticed in his *Life of Bishop Bedel*, the utility of the University amongst the reasons which had induced that undertaking.

The centuries referred to were signalised by other efforts to promote education, which were unavailing. In the year 1464, Thomas Earl of Desmond, Lord Deputy to the Duke of Clarence, founded the Collegiate Church of Youghal, which he endowed with several benefices and large estates in land. "The community," says Dr. Smith, in his *History of Cork*, "at first consisted of a warden, eight fellows, and eight singing-men, who lived in a collegiate manner, having a common table and all necessities allowed them, with yearly stipends; the whole donation at the time of the foundation being worth £600 a year." This liberal endowment was augmented by the founder's son, in 1472; and again by his brother Maurice, in the year 1496. The usual authorities make no mention of any particular course of studies or number of scholars at the Collegiate Church of Youghal. The buildings and plantations remaining to this day furnish indications of a large and well-cultivated establishment. The whole fell to the Crown at the time of the Reformation, and subsequently became the spoil of private adventurers. They ultimately formed part of



the immense possessions of Boyle, first Earl of Cork; and, upon the extinction of his family, passed to the Duke of Devonshire, whose heir still enjoys them.

Desmond, the founder of Youghal College, has further claims to notice as the patron of educational establishments. A Parliament convened by him at Drogheda, in the year 1465, voted the foundation of a University in that city, "endowed with like privileges with the University of Oxford;" but, adds Mason, who makes mention of the circumstance in his History of St. Patrick's Cathedral, "being without sufficient revenues, the scheme did not take effect." It is worthy of notice, as evidence of the languid state into which St. Patrick's University had by this time fallen, that its existence seems to have been unknown to those who framed the Act for establishing a University in Drogheda, the preamble to which recites that the land of Ireland hath no University nor general place of study within it.

The first legislative effort made to diffuse education amongst the great body of the common people appears to have been the Act 28 Henry VIII., which directed every clergyman to teach or cause to be taught an English school. A subsequent statute required the clergyman to swear that he would observe the law in this respect. We are told that the oath continued to be taken for years, but the Commissioners of Education, in their 1810 Report, observed that only "some clergymen" kept it, and that the number of scholars taught in all Ireland in these schools amounted to no more than 23,000: "a melancholy truth," says Wakefield, "which reflects no small disgrace on the character of the great body of these reverend instructors. It exhibits so total an abandonment of duty, such a dereliction of the respect due to the sacredness of an oath, and such a want of attention to the interests of their parishioners, in holding out to them the worst example, that I am thoroughly convinced of the necessity of a complete revision of the manner in which clerical duties in Ireland are performed." This was published in the year 1812; but no revision whatever of those duties was attempted

until the year 1838. A quarter of a century seems to be but a moderate time to allow our statesmen to sleep upon the application of a good legislative idea for Ireland.

The vigorous reign of Elizabeth revived and concentrated the spirit of all previous abortive attempts, and produced from their embers a worthy result. Sir John Perrot was the first Lord Deputy who sought to work out Archbishop Bicknor's project efficiently, striving hard to get a portion of the revenues of St. Patrick's Cathedral applied to the use of St. Patrick's University. In this design he was counteracted by Archbishop Loftus, whose interested conduct on the occasion has been sufficiently adverted to, Vol. I. p. 360.\*

The means by which the object was ultimately secured are distinctly traceable. Upon the forfeiture of the Irish monasteries to the Crown, in the year 1538, the priory of All Hallows, on Hogges Green, near Dublin, with its large estates—comprising many thousand acres of land at Donnybrook, the Grange of Ballycullen, Glendalough, Taghdow in Kildare, Rathmeny in Wexford, and Rathbarry in Cork—was surrendered to the Crown by its last prior, Walter Handcocke; and thereupon was granted by the Crown to the mayor, bailiffs, citizens, and commons of the city of Dublin, for ever. Ten years afterwards the corporation demised the priory to Nicholas Stanihurst, uncle to Archbishop James Usher, and to Sir William Forster, for six years, at a rent of £100 a year. Sir John Perrot had, by this time, ceased to be Lord Deputy, and was languishing under the Queen's displeasure in the Tower. The juncture was a favourable one for a master-stroke of policy upon the part of Loftus, who now detected in it the means not only of interposing a strong barrier against any further inquiries respecting the leases of cathedral lands he had obtained for himself and his family, but of acquiring the

\* Perrot was charged at his trial, by the Attorney-General, Sir John Popham, with this proceeding as an offence; and he replied to it by affirming that he had been moved to suppress the cathedral of St. Patrick in order to establish an university, but was opposed by the Archbishop, because he and his children received by the cathedral 800 marks a year.—*Hargrave's State Trials.*

credit of procuring a university for Dublin. Thus animated, he set himself energetically to work to see the plan carried out without further delay. With this view, he addressed himself to the Corporation of Dublin, beseeching them to bestow the decayed monastery of All Hallows, with the adjoining property, for this good purpose. The whole was now represented as being worth only £20 per annum, and, having been liberally granted by the municipality, Henry Usher, then Archdeacon of Dublin, and Lucas Chaloner, were despatched to obtain a charter and mortmain licence in London. The University of Dublin,—under the name and style of the Provost, Fellows, and Scholars of the College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity,—founded by Queen Elizabeth, had thus its origin, by letters patent, in the year 1592. Henry Usher, M.A., Lucas Chaloner, and Lancelot Moyne, were named in the charter the first Fellows; and Henry Lee, William Daniel, and Stephen White, the first Scholars. They were licensed to hold lands and tenements of the annual value of £400. A large portion of the Earl of Desmond's estates in Kerry, and of O'Neil's in Tyrone, were granted by Elizabeth to the establishment; but ready money being required to erect the necessary buildings, a letter, soliciting donations, was addressed by the Lord Deputy, Fitzwilliam, in council, to persons of rank throughout the country. A sum of £2000 having been thus collected, the foundation-stone of the new building was laid, by Thomas Smith, Lord Mayor of Dublin, March 13, 1591; and in two years afterwards the college was opened for students.

The undertaking appears to have had its difficulties to surmount. The lands granted by the Crown being part of forfeited estates, it was found difficult to obtain payment of the rents; the establishment consequently became embarrassed, and the Fellows feared they should be compelled to abandon their charge. In this emergency Loftus again acted the part of an earnest patron, obtaining for the institution, in the year 1598, a pension of £100, which was followed, in the year 1601, by a further pension from the Queen of £200 a year. Henceforward time and perseverance, the fixed support of a govern-



ment, and a state of public affairs somewhat more tranquil, availed for much, and the University grew by degrees into strength and wealth.

The Roman Catholics evidently entertained a belief that the benefits of education in Trinity College would have been thrown open to their body. The assurance, publicly given, that the College was founded for the benefit of the "whole country," warranted such a conclusion. They certainly were invited by the Lord Deputy of the time, Fitzwilliam, to aid the rising endowment by a subscription, and they responded liberally to the call. In the counties of Cork and Galway, where in point of numbers and estate they predominated, their contributions were considerable. The Parliament, which so repeatedly voted money to the College, and the Corporation of Dublin, who granted the site for its foundation, comprised very many Roman Catholics. Unquestionably, therefore, the population of that faith must be recognised as a party to the establishment, which, as far as the letters patent and the conduct of the Government furnish the means of interpretation, was designed to be a national and not a sectarian institution. But the structure was barely raised, and the means of supporting it secured, before the Roman Catholics were made to feel that they were to be excluded from its walls. In this extremity, as appears by the *Fasti Dublinienses*, in Whitlaw's *History of Dublin*, they erected, under the auspices of the Jesuits, a Collegiate Seminary, in Back Lane. Sir John Borlase says it was "a fair Collegiate Building." But though patronised by the Pope, who authorized it to confer University degrees, it was unrecognised by the State, and was soon after swept away amidst the general persecution of priests and the confiscation of religious houses. Lord Ely formally suppressed the Back Lane College in the year 1630, and gave the building to Trinity College.

In pursuing the History of Education we meet with no grounds for reproaching either the Sovereign or Parliament with indifference to the subject, or a want of liberality in tendering means for its advancement. On the contrary, atten-

tion seems to have been well directed, and money contributed in large sums for a series of years to insure success for the several projects that were adopted and put out on trial for the purpose from time to time. Unfortunately, however, for the public, everything that for the long interval of more than two centuries together was thus promoted failed not to be accompanied by a condition that would, by its own inherent viciousness, have sufficed to undermine and destroy the best and strongest cause that ever existed. This was the determination—that Roman Catholics, in receiving the benefits of education, should be taught to renounce or despise their own religion. Ignorance and bigotry have, in this way, caused the waste of enormous sums of money.\* Nor did the mischief stop here: the public munificence and private generosity were assailed and diverted from their true channels by speculation and abuses of monstrous extent and turpitude. In a word, as the failure of the different Government schemes appears to have become practically revealed to those who obtained the management of the different institutions and control over the estates intended for their support, habits of spoliation came into play, and were extensively acted upon for many years—Parliament and the settled estates contributing large supplies of money, and men of family appropriating these to their private uses, without discharging any of the duties or the functions prescribed as the consideration for the incomes so scandalously misapplied. These observations apply to the schools of Erasmus Smith, to the Royal Schools of Charles I., to the Charter Schools, and, generally speaking, to every establishment which succeeded in obtaining any of the public money.

Amongst the liberal benefactors to the cause of education in Ireland no man holds a place second to Erasmus Smith,

\* “If this system had been properly designated in the several Acts of Parliament from which it originated, it would have been entitled a system of national religious conversion. Had it answered either of the professed purposes—by instructing the people or converting them to Protestantism—had it taught them useful knowledge, or made them abandon their superstitious errors, I should not find fault with it; but as it professes one thing, whilst it aims at another, it has failed in both, and it is no less absurd than it is useless.”—*Wakefield*, Vol. II. p. 406.

the founder of the schools which still bear his name. This gentleman was a wealthy member of the Merchant Tailors' Company, who purchased large estates in Ireland from adventurers, under the provisions of the Act of Settlement. After a time some of those defects were picked out in his title which fall as a common fate upon all such transactions, making the rapacity of confiscation bear within itself the seeds of retributive ruin. Mr. Smith, as a hasty purchaser, thus stood at the mercy of the Crown. In order to extricate himself from this dilemma, he entered into an agreement, by the terms of which the Crown agreed to pass new patents for all the estates, on the condition that he should found certain grammar schools, and endow them and Trinity College with an estate in land. The grammar schools of Drogheda, Galway, Ennis, and Tipperary, and several day schools for poor boys and girls in Dublin, Nenagh, Tarbert, and other places, were thus established, together with a Hebrew Lectureship and other exhibitions in Trinity College, which will be found more fully specified in the account of that university. The whole endowment is managed by a Board of Trustees, thirty-two in number, who are self-elected, with the exception of a few ex-officio members, and act under letters of incorporation granted in the year 1669, and an Act of Parliament passed in the tenth year of George II. The charter and full particulars of the established schools are given in the Ninth Report of the Education Commissioners, which appeared in the year 1810. The property was then in a highly-flourishing state. The number of acres was 7953. The yearly rental was £6717 1s., and the trustees held £35,000 in the funds, producing £1300 a-year, while their disbursements barely reached £4000 a-year. The committee of 1835 represent the rental of the estates as having risen by that time to £7584. The number of grammar schools remained the same, but the total number of schools maintained and aided by the trustees was eighty-nine, and the number of scholars 11,000. The trustees neither render accounts nor make reports to Parliament or to the Government.



The official information contributed on this part of the case is full and decisive. There was a commission appointed by the Crown, in the year 1806, to inquire into the state of education in Ireland, and to report accordingly. The commissioners were Dr. Stuart, Archbishop of Armagh, Dr. Broderick, Archbishop of Cashel, Dr. Verschoyle, Bishop of Killala, Dr. Elrington, Provost of Trinity College, Richard Lovell Edgeworth, the Rev. James Whitelaw, and John Leslie Foster, M.P. These gentlemen visited the different schools and foundations, Trinity College excepted. They gave a history of the origin, condition, and resources of each, and made fourteen Reports, the last of which appeared in the year 1812. Their recommendations were sound and judicious, but they were not acted upon, except in a single instance, and then not very effectually. They desired to see a general plan of education for the lower classes, keeping clear of all interference with the religious tenets of any, and thereby inducing the whole to receive education as one body under one and the same system, and in the same establishment. These commissioners wisely deprecated "all interference with the particular religious tenets of those who are to receive instruction." "That," they add, "should, in the first instance, be unequivocally disclaimed and effectually guarded against. We conceive this," they say, "to be of essential importance in any new establishment for the education of the lower classes in Ireland; and we venture to express our unanimous opinion, that no such plan, however wisely and unexceptionably contrived in other respects, can be carried into effectual execution in this country, unless it be explicitly avowed and clearly understood, as its leading principle, that no attempt shall be made to influence or disturb the peculiar religious tenets of any sect or description of Christians."

The single step taken to give effect to these sound recommendations was the Act relating to the Endowed Schools of Ireland, passed in the year 1813.\* That done, Parliament

\* The Primate, Lord Chancellor, and Archbishop of Dublin, for the time being, together with a Bishop from each Province and four other proper

continued for several years to proceed upon the old principle of extending the patronage and pecuniary assistance of the State principally, if not exclusively, to proselytising establishments.

Politics, however, began at last to take a more liberal and enlightened course of action, and religious bigotry became less virulent and obstructive. A new commission was appointed in the year 1824, the commissioners being T. Frankland Lewis, M.P., J. Leslie Foster, M.P., W. Grant, Secretary for Ireland, J. Glassford, and A. R. Blake. These gentlemen made nine Reports, the chief of which are the first and last. From their labours resulted, in the year 1831, the institution of the present Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, whose powers and operations were admirably described in an official letter from Mr. Secretary Stanley to the Lord Lieutenant, dated September 9, 1831. We shall notice these, and the progress of the national establishment itself, in some detail, after first relating, in brief terms, the history and condition of some preceding institutions as they are set forth and explained in the Reports of the two commissions already spoken of.

The first schools that took effect in Ireland under the authority of the State were the Diocesan Free Schools. These had their origin in the Act 12 Elizabeth, c. 1, which directed the establishment of Free Schools, or, as they are called in a subsequent Act of William III., "Classical Schools," in every diocese. They were to be maintained principally at the expense of the Protestant clergy, the ordinaries paying one-third part yearly for ever, and the parsons and other ecclesiastical persons two-third parts of such pensions for the schoolmaster, as the Lord Lieutenant, to whom the appointment of the schoolmaster was given, should see fit to determine. By one of the several Acts passed to quicken the prosperity of these institutions, 29 George II. c. 7, grand

and discreet persons appointed by the Lord Lieutenant, are the Commissioners under this Act. They present a meagre report to Parliament every year, but give no accounts of their property or their receipts and disbursements.

juries in Ireland were authorized to present money for building Diocesan school-houses, which was to be levied in the same manner as other grand-jury presentments—by county rate. We have here a solitary precedent in favour of the principle, that local taxation for the support of academical institutions is a legitimate mode of providing public education. In some few instances this statute appears to have been acted upon, but never with any considerable advantage. The commissioners, who reported upon these schools in the year 1809, found out of the proper number—thirty-four—only ten school-houses in a state of tolerable repair, three either out of repair or otherwise insufficient, and the remainder a blank and nullity. They complain of the utter inadequacy of the stipends paid to the masters, which in no diocese exceeded £40 a year, and in some was so low as £25. The publication of these facts produced a good effect, for, by the year 1835, we find the fixed salary ranging from £64 to £200 a year.

The following table, computed from the Report of the Select Committee on Foundation Schools in Ireland, 1838, shows the number of Diocesan schools, and the Salaries of the masters, in the years 1788 and 1835.

1788.			1835.		
£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Cashel . . . . .	40	0 0	Armagh and Connor	120	0 0
Clogher . . . . .	30	12 6½	Kilmore and Raphoe	130	0 0
Cork . . . . .	25	6 9	} United . . . . .	200	0 0
Ross . . . . .	29	19 2			
Cloyne . . . . .	30	0 0			
Derry . . . . .	40	0 0		100	0 0
Dromore . . . . .	23	12 4	and Down united . . . . .	90	0 0
Dublin . . . . .	30	0 0	and Glendalough . . . . .	92	6 2
Down . . . . .	31	3 0	united with Dromore		
Connor . . . . .	30	0 0	united with Armagh		
Elphin . . . . .	30	0 0		96	18 6
Kildare . . . . .	40	0 0		70	0 0
Killaloe . . . . .	25	0 0			
Leighlin . . . . .	25	3 4½	and Ossory . . . . .	110	15 4
Ferns . . . . .	30	0 0		64	0 0
Limerick . . . . .	27	15 2	Killaloe & Kilfenora	138	0 0
Meath . . . . .	36	0 0	and Ardagh . . . . .	130	0 0
Ossory . . . . .	36	0 0	united with Leighlin		
Tuam . . . . .	28	13 3	schoolhouse not habitable, united with Meath		
Ardagh . . . . .	30	0 0			
<hr/>			<hr/>		
20	£619	5 7	12	£1342	0 0



Taken altogether, however, the Diocesan Schools cannot be said to have answered the purpose for which they were originally designed. There is little to show that they have recruited the ranks of the Church. The Roman Catholics have abstained from resorting to them to a marked extent; and naturally enough, the master, in every instance, being a clergyman of the Church of England. They are, no doubt, professedly open to persons of all religious persuasions; yet, as they are supported mainly by the contributions of the Protestant clergy, they have generally been considered as Protestant endowments, and avoided accordingly by all those who do not happen to be Protestants. In the year 1835 the charges for tuition averaged from £30 to £40 for boarders, and about six guineas a year for day scholars. The committee of the House of Commons, when reporting these particulars, condemned the mode of administration or government as being pointedly defective. The number of schools, as already shown, was twelve, and the average number of scholars then stood as follows:—

Boarders	.	.	.	148
Day Scholars	.	.	.	229
Free Scholars	.	.	.	65
Total				<hr/> 442

The course of education consists of instruction in the less difficult of the classic writers; in logic, in arithmetic, and the elementary branches of mathematics, with a course of general history, geography, grammar, &c., which varies in each school; every master being independent in this and too many other respects.

Charles I. was the founder of the ROYAL SCHOOLS OF IRELAND, which were largely endowed with estates by his son, Charles II. These schools are seven in number, and the first body of commissioners, those appointed in the year 1806, reported in 1809 the condition and property of each as follows:—

Site of School.	Estate in Acres.	Annual Rent.	Boarders.	Day Scholars.
		£ s. d.		
Armagh . . .	1530	1043 4 6	87	29
Dungannon . . .	1600	1481 4 9	27	12
Enniskillen . . .	3360	1461 0 0	65	16
Raphoe . . .	3946	750 0 0	8	27
Cavan . . .	570	900 0 0	nil	nil
Banagher and Carysfort	336	165 0 0	nil	nil

In the year 1778, according to Provost Hutchinson's Report, the seven schools had five school-houses, and 211 scholars. Some of the observations made by the commissioners in 1809, on the condition of these schools, are curious. The head masters received the rents of the school estate, and in every instance stipends from the scholars—boarders paying from twenty-six to thirty-two guineas per year, and day scholars from four to six guineas. At Armagh, the head master had bought himself in, giving £2000 for his predecessor's lease of the school lands, which was continued in his own name. At Dungannon, the master's son held the lease of the school lands in trust for his father. At Cavan there was no school-house, but there was a master to take the rents. At Banagher, the master had applied the rents "to a very bad purpose." At Carysfort there was an old school-room, but the master never attended.

That such a state of things should have been exposed and condemned by men of the highest character and authority, and should still be left for years without correction or reform, seems incredible. It so happened, nevertheless. In the year 1835 the Commons' Committee found the rental of the estates at Armagh improved to £1415 per annum, of which £650 were paid to the masters, exclusive of their residence, and their receipts from the students, who were only thirty-six in number—ten being boarders at thirty-five guineas per annum, and twenty day scholars at eight guineas per annum. So that, between 1809 and 1835, the rents of the estate had increased and the number of students had decreased, the

annual amount of the payments from the latter having also increased.

The income of Enniskillen school, in like manner, was £2119 per annum, of which, exclusive of their residences, £850 were paid to the masters, who had not more than 60 scholars, of whom fourteen were boarders at thirty-four guineas per annum, and thirty-six day scholars at six guineas a year each.

Here again we note precisely the same things as at Armagh—an increase of rents and a decrease of scholars, who are nevertheless made to pay higher stipends.

The total number of boys receiving education at the Royal Schools, in the year 1835, was :—

Boarders	.	.	.	.	118
Day Scholars	.	.	.	.	108
Free Scholars	.	.	.	.	25
Total					<hr/> 251

About this period £650 per annum was appropriated from the rents of these schools, under the Act 53 Geo. III. c. 107, to the foundation of exhibitions in Trinity College, for students from the schools of Dungannon, Enniskillen, and Armagh. The payments required from boarders then ranged, as they still do, from thirty guineas to forty-five guineas per annum, and from day scholars the average was about eight guineas per annum. These are rates of payment for education which enable private teachers in Ireland to maintain good academical institutions. It must, therefore, be admitted that the advantages enjoyed by the public, from the munificent endowments of these Royal Schools, are by no means proportioned to the resources which they command. The fixed salaries of the head masters, who with one exception are appointed by the Lord Lieutenant, now range from £200 to £1000, exclusive of scholars' stipends. Some of the masters enjoy preferments in the Church, a combination manifestly incompatible with the due performance of the functions of the one office and the other. The course of education is nearly the same as that given in the Diocesan schools : in both, the sciences



and more useful departments of knowledge are greatly neglected. It is obvious, therefore, that these establishments are susceptible of great improvements. The administration, though free at the present day from the enormous abuses exposed by the 1806 commissioners, is weak, injudicious, and defective. There is a palpable want of system, vigour, and comprehensiveness in all the proceedings of which a view is attainable. The estates, which in the year 1788 produced a rental of £3918 17s. 3½*d.*, yielded, in 1839, £6470 0s. 2½*d.*, the total number of scholars in the former year being 211, and in the latter only 251, of whom 246 paid for their education. Such a state of things evinces so palpable a mismanagement as to preclude the necessity for further comment. The condition of the seven schools in detail, as reported by the committee of 1838, our latest authority upon the subject, stands thus:—

Schools.	Boarders.				Day Scholars.				Acres.	Rent.			Head Master's Salaries.
		£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	£
Armagh . .	10	36	15	0	20	8	8	0	1514	1415	18	0	400
Banagher . .	15	39	18	0	5	8	8	0	306	259	5	5½	220
Cavan . .	13	35	14	0	15	8	8	0	590	569	4	0	200
Dungannon .	58	47	5	0	26	10	10	0	no return.				400
Enniskillen .	14	35	14	0	36	6	6	0	3587	1491	9	0	500
Raphoe . .	8	31	10	0	6	4	4	0	6827 mostly moun- tains.	461	10	9	350
	118				128*								2070†

The reign of George II. was signalized, in the year 1733, by an attempt to promote education by setting up chartered schools, for instructing the children of the Popish and other poor natives in the English tongue. For nearly a century

\* There were besides twenty-three free scholars in the six schools.

† The Head Master of Enniskillen School is said to receive at present a salary of £1000 a year; and there is a further sum of £850 paid to thirteen assistants, who are all retained on discreditable mean salaries.

there were applied no common degree of political and sectarian zeal and activity, strengthened by large grants of money from the State, to impart enduring vigour and prosperity to these schools. Their proper style was that of the Incorporated Charter Society, though they were commonly called the Charter Schools. The governors were incorporated when first established, in the year 1733; and they enjoyed the liberality of the Irish and of the Imperial Parliament, as well as of private individuals, with unabated favour, until the inquiries, made by the Commissioners of Education appointed in the year 1824, disclosed so much mismanagement, so many abuses, and so pernicious a system of proselytism, that their further maintenance became impossible. It was shown that although £1,027,715 had been granted by Parliament to them, not more than 12,745 children had been apprenticed. Between the years 1806 and 1825 the charges for building amounted to £83,689, but only two school-houses had been built during all that time. The average expenditure was at the rate of £30,000 a year, and there was literally nothing to show in return. Never did a public institution prove more undeserving of public countenance or support. Thenceforward all Parliamentary grants having been withdrawn, the Society fell back exclusively upon its own resources.

However good the original design may have been, Wakefield, it is certain, told no untruth when he said that the people regarded the Charter Schools as a nuisance and a curse. They were avowedly made instruments for gaining converts to the Protestant faith. From the year 1775 to 1803 a by-law existed, limiting the right of admission to the schools to the children of Roman Catholics only. The children of other poor natives embraced in the original plan were thus shut out. And the Government was, through this Society, made to say to the Roman Catholics of Ireland, "Send us your children; we will feed, clothe, lodge, educate, and apprentice them." Fair words enough, but the under-plot was not spoken, and that provided that the children should become Protestants.

It was but natural that education offered to the people on

such terms, instead of being accepted with avidity or gratitude, should be scorned as an insult. Well did the commissioners speak, when they declared the evil to be so monstrous that it could not be corrected. But, though parliamentary aid was withdrawn, the Society was strong enough to outlive the shock it then sustained. The charter schools are still maintained but exclusively upon their own endowments. Their management is vested partly in the Incorporated Charter Society, and partly in local trustees. In the year 1838 there were five boarding schools, in which 287 children were lodged, dieted, clothed, and educated; and five day schools, in which 249 children were educated. The annual income was then £7361, derived exclusively from settled funds, which were charged with the payment of superannuation allowances to the masters of the schools recently suppressed, otherwise, it was represented, the endowments would have sufficed for operations of more extended utility.

The long reign of George III. witnessed the institution of many educational establishments in Ireland. Of these two are distinguished above the rest, for pre-eminent merit in point of design and application. They are the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth, founded in the year 1793; and the Royal Belfast Academical Institution, founded in 1810. But it will be more convenient to speak of these in detail, when the statistics of the principal places of education now existing come to be set out and reviewed. At present some smaller schools of older foundation, and more limited utility, remain to be noticed.

THE BLUE COAT SCHOOLS of Ireland are four in number. The one in Dublin was founded in the year 1760, by Charles II., who incorporated the governors. These are fifty-one in number; they are self-elected, and have always been high Tories in politics. The object of the institution originally was twofold: first, the support of decayed citizens of Dublin; and, secondly, the maintenance, education, and apprenticing of their children. Limited means confined the operations of the charity to the latter object only. According to the Report



of the Education Commissioners, 1810, the expenditure from the year 1797 to 1808 had been £43,600; the number of boys admitted, 247; and the number apprenticed, 208; so that it took eleven years, and cost £43,600, to apprentice 208 boys. The Commons' Report of 1838 gave the rental in 1810 as £4315 17s. 10d.: the number of boys fed, clothed, and educated for a mercantile life is about 100.

Another Blue Coat School exists at Cork, which does not seem to have been well conducted. It was founded, according to Dr. Smith, (*History of Cork*, Vol. II. p. 389,) by William Worth, Dean of Cork and Bishop of Killaloe, who, by deed dated September 2, 1699, settled upon the Mayor and Common Council of Cork, certain lands for the erection of a convenient house for the accommodation of the boys, and a master to instruct them in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and to provide decent blue coats and other convenient clothing, with meat and food: the master to have a convenient lodging, £25 a year salary, with £10 for each boy. When the first edition of Dr. Smith's *History* appeared, in the year 1750, the estates of this school produced a rental of £457 5s. 6d. a year, and supported 40 boys. Modern accounts represent that only 22 boys are supported, and that they are invariably selected from the sons of decayed Protestant citizens. The deed of settlement between Worth and the Corporation, which is printed in Dr. Smith's *History*, contains nothing to warrant this limitation of the charity to sectarian purposes.

There is a third Blue Coat School in Limerick: it was founded in the year 1717, by the Rev. J. Moore, and used to be aided by an annual grant from the Corporation. Some house-property subsequently fell to it, but it does not appear to have ever been well supported. The Protestant dean is the chief manager, and the number of boys supported only 15.

The fourth Blue Coat is that at Waterford. It was founded by Nathaniel Foy, who was made Bishop of Waterford in the year 1691, and died in the year 1708. Twenty years afterwards his executor, the Rev. Nathaniel France, obtained an Act of Parliament to perpetuate the endowment. The ma-

nagement was thus conferred on the Bishop, Dean, and Mayor of Waterford for the time being. Dr. Smith, when writing the history of Waterford in the year 1746, found that as many as 75 children had been educated at one time in the school, the master receiving a salary of £60 a year, and a catechist £15. The estate consists of 1300 acres of land and some houses in Waterford. But there is no modern account showing an increased number of scholars, and certainly the education afforded to them appears by no means commensurate with the value of the property and the extent of the resources commanded by the trustees.

KILKENNY COLLEGE, founded by Pierce Butler, eighth Earl of Ormonde, and endowed by him, and also by his successor, the Great Duke, has a good landed estate, and is chiefly under the management of Trinity College: it reckons amongst its scholars more distinguished names than any other Irish school, Stanihurst, Swift, Congreve, Farquhar, Harris the historian, Berkeley the metaphysician, and others. But its modern reputation is not considerable; it lags behind the moving age under the easy rule of unenergetic Trinity. The Duke of Ormond's provision for its maintenance secured £140 a year to the master, out of lands and houses. When his grandson was declared a traitor, the University became patron and manager, but without adding to the usefulness or increasing the wealth of the establishment.

THE HIBERNIAN SCHOOL in the Phoenix Park, Dublin, is a military school. It was established in the year 1769, for the maintenance, clothing, and instruction of soldiers' children. The governors, some 30 or so in number, are military officers connected with the garrison of Dublin. The building is large, commodious, and healthily situated. There are workrooms in which the boys are taught trades, and there is a farm of about 13 acres which they cultivate. The expenditure used to be on an average £4500 a year, and the number of children about 130 boys and 70 girls. The Education Commissioners (1810) summed up the total expenditure, from the year 1802 to 1809, at £63,395, of which only £27,430

appeared to have been expended on the support of the charity. The number of children admitted in these years was 754, of whom 313 were apprenticed, 186 given up to their parents, and 12 given to the army; the remaining 29 had died. The Commons Committee of 1838 reported, that up to 1826 the parliamentary grants had amounted to £240,356; and that in 1835 the income had fallen to £1010.

The HIBERNIAN MARINE SCHOOL was established, by charter, in the year 1777, for the maintenance of the children of decayed seamen in the navy and in the merchants' service. The expenditure in 1809, according to the Education Commissioners, was £5832. In the preceding year it was £2091, for which 38 boys had been admitted, 10 apprenticed, and 16 sent on board the Navy: 24 had run away, and 3 had died. According to the Commons' Committee of 1838 the income in 1835 was only £900, maintaining not more than 23 children.

The ASSOCIATION FOR THE DISCOURAGEMENT OF VICE, established in the year 1792, and incorporated by Act of Parliament in the year 1800, has almost, from its commencement, been an educational institution. According to the Report of the Commons' Committee for the year 1838, it began its work by confining itself to the distribution of Bibles and religious tracts; but, after a time, undertook to aid and establish schools, to build school-houses, and grant salaries to teachers. Though purporting to be open to all religious persuasions, its three leading arrangements were obviously of an exclusive character. 1. The schoolmaster was to be a Protestant, appointed by the Protestant clergyman of the parish. 2. The Scriptures were required to be read in school-hours. 3. The catechism of the Church of England was made the subject for examinations held by the Protestant ministers. The funds of the Society were partly derived from subscriptions, and partly, but chiefly, from parliamentary grants. These last, between the years 1800 and 1827, when they were withdrawn, amounted to £101,991 18s. 6d. Since that period the expenses have been defrayed by private subscriptions, which are not accounted for, at least publicly. The present operations of the Society



are principally devoted to the circulation of Bibles, Testaments, prayer-books, and tracts.

The LONDON HIBERNIAN SOCIETY was formed in London, in the year 1806, for the purpose of "establishing schools and circulating the Holy Scriptures" in Ireland. Following in the wake, it adopted the plan of the Association for Discountenancing Vice, although proselytism was distinctly disavowed; and, as if to guarantee this pledge, no books of religious controversy, tracts, or catechisms, were admitted into their schools. Still the Bible was required to be read. The schoolmasters were not required to be Protestants; they were eligible from any religious denomination: but the resident parochial clergymen were the permanent visitors. The inspectors were selected exclusively by the Society, and the teachers paid according to the result of their inspection.

The funds are now derived solely from subscriptions. Formerly a portion came from "The Lord Lieutenant's Fund," a sum annually voted by parliament; but no parliamentary grants were ever made directly to these schools. The sums granted from the Lord Lieutenant's Fund amounted, between the years 1819 and 1824, to £80,583 6s. 8d., to which may be added £15,000 to the year 1826, when all such aid ceased. This Society as to administration and its method of teaching is not, in any material points, dissimilar from the "Association for Discountenancing Vice." The reading of the Scriptures is strictly insisted upon, and forms the chief object of instruction in its schools. It trains teachers, but does not publish books. It now contributes liberally to the Church Education Society, with which it seems likely to be united.

"The Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in Ireland," commonly called the KILDARE PLACE SOCIETY, was instituted in the year 1814, but did not come into extensive operation till the year 1817. The purposes for which it was started are stated distinctly in the prospectus:—

"1. To assist, by pecuniary grants, as well the forming and establishment of new schools, as the improvement of schools already in existence, upon condition that the principles of the Society be adopted for their regulation.

"2. To maintain two model schools in Kildare Place, in which to exhibit the plan recommended, and to train masters and mistresses of country schools.

"3. To receive masters and mistresses from the country, in order to qualify them for carrying the plans of the Society into effect.

"4. To publish moral, instructive, and entertaining books, fitted to supplant the objectionable ones in use.

"5. To supply to schools in connexion with the Society gratuitously, and to all purchasers at cost prices, spelling-books, stationary, and other school requisites.

"6. To maintain a system of annual inspection of all schools in connexion with the Society.

"7. To encourage, by gratuities and not by salaries, such masters and mistresses as appear deserving."

Upon the credit of these professions the Society at first obtained general encouragement. Men of all politics appeared in the ranks of its supporters. The Commons' Committee of 1838 reported that

"These schools were open, in all their departments, as well, indeed, as the Society itself, to all sects of Christians. It was not till a later period, in consequence of differences on the reading of the Bible, that it was charged with a proselytising tendency.

"The funds, for the purpose of carrying the objects of the Society into operation were derived in part from voluntary contributions, but much more considerably from the grants of the Legislature. In the sessions of 1814-15, Parliament consented to a grant of £6980, which in the subsequent years was gradually increased till it reached the sum of 30,000. This will appear more intelligible from the following accounts of the annual grants :—

1816 . . . . £6,000	Brought forward . £82,739
1817 . . . . 9,663	1825 . . . . 22,000
1818 . . . . 5,538	1826 . . . . 15,000
1820 . . . . 5,538	1827 . . . . 25,000
1821 . . . . 10,000	1828 . . . . 25,000
1822 . . . . 10,000	1829 . . . . 25,000
1823 . . . . 14,000	1830 . . . . 18,750
1824 . . . . 22,000	1831 . . . . 30,000
Carried forward . £82,739	£243,489

In the year 1833\* the grant was altogether withdrawn, and

\* The Society's report states that the grant was withdrawn in 1831, but the Parliamentary Papers represent some portion of the sums voted in 1832 and 1833 as being on account of the Kildare Place Society.

there was a rapid decrease in the operations of the Society. Private subscriptions now constitute its sole means of support, and these are not large. The published Report for the year 1848 gives the income of the Society for the year 1847, as

	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions and Donations . . . . .	259	9	7
Bequests . . . . .	446	2	11
	<hr/>		
	705	12	6
Receipts from Scholars in Model Schools, and Produce of Work done there . . . . .	111	4	10
Sales in Depository . . . . .	1638	19	11
	<hr/>		
	£2455	17	3

In this year the Report gives the numbers on the roll of the Male Model School as 353, of whom 307 were present at the time of inspection. The numbers in attendance at the inspection of the Female Model School were 131; the number on the roll 270.

According to the Commons' Report already quoted, a committee is annually chosen, every year, by the subscribers,


“To appoint masters, superintend the training schools, select inspectors, and enforce the performance of the other duties set forth in their prospectus. During the period of their existence, not only previous but subsequent to the withdrawing of the grant, they published annual reports, which go with considerable minuteness into the statistics of the schools with which they are in connexion. The Legislature does not exercise any control.

“The Society teaches in its schools, reading, writing, arithmetic, and certain portions of elementary geography, history, &c. It grounds its moral and religious instruction solely on the reading of the Scriptures, without note or comment, and unaccompanied by any catechism of any particular religious creed. The Society deserves much praise for having been the first to publish a series of books for the use of schools. They are, in general, creditably executed: some are translations from works in extensive circulation on the Continent. The Board of National Education has in many places given them its sanction, and they are used in common with its own in many schools in the country, and indeed generally in the three kingdoms. It has also bestowed attention on the education of teachers, male and female: but it has been alleged that the instruction has not been sufficiently fundamental, and that it is rather mechanical than intellectual. This may be attributed in part to the shortness of the period allowed for training, and the erroneous or imperfect notions existing on education when the Society was first constituted.”




The Kildare Place Society now aids the Church Education Society, into which it might perhaps merge, to the advantage of both establishments.

The following table, from the Thirty-fifth Report of the Society, exhibits its progressive state in all its branches, from the year 1814 to 1847, inclusive.

Years.	Schools.	Scholars.	Average Number of Scholars per School each year.	Total Number of Masters trained from the commencement.	Total Number of Female Teachers trained from the commencement.	Total Number of Cheap Books issued from the commencement.	* Separate Lending Libraries formed from the commencement.
1814	—	—	—	16	—	—	—
1815	—	—	—	33	—	—	—
1816	8	557	69 $\frac{3}{4}$	46	—	—	—
1817	65	4,527	69 $\frac{3}{4}$	99	—	11,812	—
1818	133	9,263	69 $\frac{3}{4}$	138	—	92,922	—
1819	241	16,786	69 $\frac{3}{4}$	193	—	217,409	—
1820	381	26,474	69 $\frac{3}{4}$	279	—	371,304	—
1821	513	36,657	71	356	—	556,521	—
1822	727	51,637	71	483	—	662,752	46
1823	1122	79,287	70 $\frac{1}{2}$	633	—	784,640	143
1824	1490	100,000	67	840	23	957,457	276
1825	1395	102,380	73	1040	131	1,089,933	403
1826	1477	102,064	69	1172	199	1,152,194	544
1827	1467	98,063	66 $\frac{3}{4}$	1329	268	1,224,792	723
1828	1497	106,839	71	1473	313	1,281,884	847
1829	1553	124,449	80	1610	363	1,341,347	938
1830	1634	132,530	81	1760	424	1,406,990	1067
1831	1621	137,639	84 $\frac{1}{2}$	1908	282	1,464,817	1131
							
1832	1508	—	—	1930	499	1,493,316	—
1833	1443	—	—	1942	511	1,511,421	—
1834	1000	—	—	1954	540	1,543,076	1176
1835	1000	—	—	1966	559	1,577,454	1242
1836	1000	—	—	1975	597	1,601,068	1281
1837	1091	—	—	1979	648	1,617,791	1325
1838	1097	—	—	1997	693	1,636,025	1364
1839	1077	—	—	2015	710	1,661,613	1419
1840	Inspection discontinued from want of Funds.			2022	719	1,676,898	1452
1841				2029	735	1,686,019	1484
1842				2033	749	1,698,062	1503
1843				2036	769	1,705,445	1529
1844				2039	778	1,715,898	1567
1845				2043	787	1,724,597	1601
1846				2053	793	1,730,985	1616
1847				2071	812	1,737,629	1640

\* Besides these, a Lending Library was attached to each School.

 Parliamentary Grant withdrawn.

At length the period came to be reached when a vigorous and successful effort could be made to establish a system of education which should truly deserve the name of National. In the month of October, 1831, Mr. Stanley, the Secretary for Ireland, addressed a public letter to the Duke of Leinster, in which, after clearly reviewing the recent and pending state of the question, he proceeded to explain the views entertained by the Government upon the subject of the new measure. These views, shortly stated, were, that the system to be adopted should:—1. As recommended by the Committee of the House of Commons (in the session of 1828) afford a *combined* literary, and a *separate* religious, education.—2. That the individuals composing the Board should be men of high personal character and of station in the Church, and should profess different religious opinions.—3. That the Board should exercise a complete control over every school connected with it, and over all books, literary and religious, to be used in the schools.—4. The main object being to unite in one system children of different creeds, and much, in that respect, depending upon the co-operation of the resident clergy, applications were to be favoured from the Protestant and Roman Catholic clergy—from one of the clergy and a certain number of parishioners professing the opposite creed, and from parishioners of both denominations.—5. All applications were to be refused in which the following objects were not locally provided for:—a fund sufficient for the annual repairs of the school-house and furniture; a permanent salary for the master;—a sum sufficient to purchase books and school-requisites at half-price, and books of religious instruction at prime cost;—a subscription of at least one-third of the estimated expense of every school-house required to be built;—the site for the building to be approved by the commissioners and granted to them, and the school-house, when finished, to be vested in them; but the appointment of their own teachers to be left, subject to certain regulations, to the individuals or bodies applying for schools.—6. The schools to be kept open for a certain number of hours on four or five days of the week for moral and literary education, and the remaining one or two days to be set apart for giving sepa-

rately such religious education as may be approved of by the clergy of the respective persuasions. 7. The clergy will be encouraged to give religious instruction to the children of these respective religious persuasions, either before or after the ordinary school-hours on the other days of the week, and a register shall be kept of the attendance of the children at divine worship on Sundays. Lastly, the objects of the National Board were thus defined:—

1. Granting aid for the erection of schools subject to the conditions specified.

2. Paying inspectors for visiting and reporting upon schools.

3. Gratuities to teachers of schools conducted under the rules laid down, not exceeding £    each.

4. Establishing and maintaining a model school in Dublin, and training teachers for country schools.

5. Editing and printing such books of moral and literary education as should be approved of for the use of the schools, and supplying them and school-necessaries at not lower than half price.

Upon this sound and liberal basis the new system came into operation at the beginning of the year 1832. The board, as originally appointed, consisted of the Duke of Leinster, the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, and the Provost of Trinity College, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, and Mr. A. R. Blake also a Roman Catholic, the Rev. Mr. Carlisle a Presbyterian minister, and Mr. Holmes an Arian. One only of these commissioners, the Rev. Mr. Carlisle, received a salary.\* The salaried officers, besides the Resident Commissioner, are two secretaries, one a Roman Catholic and one a Protestant; two Professors of Training and Model Schools, one a Protestant and one a Roman Catholic; four Head Inspectors, and thirty-four District Inspectors of Schools; an Accountant, and some clerks.

\* This gentleman afterwards resigned his appointment, and was succeeded by Mr. Macdonnell, who has since filled the office of Resident Commissioner. Other changes have taken place in the composition of the Board, which has been increased in numbers and equalized as to religions—there being in the year 1848 five Protestants, five Roman Catholics, and five Presbyterians.



It appears, by the Fourteenth Report of the Commissioners, that there were 3637 schools in 1846, attended by 456,410 children; and at the close of the year 1847 the schools were 3825, and the children 402,632—thus showing a total increase in this class of schools of 188, but a decrease in the attendances, for the year ending December 31, 1847, as compared with the year 1846. The diminished attendance in 1846, as compared with the amount of increase in 1845, was fairly ascribed to the prevailing distress, which had compelled parents to obtain employment for their children on the public works. Many children, also, had been prevented from attending school by want of food and clothing. Poverty and sickness among the humbler classes being rapidly on the increase, there was a diminution in the attendance for 1847 greater than there had been in 1846, by 53,778. The number of children on the rolls, was, as returned by the managers, for the respective half-years, ending 30 September, 1846 and 1847, as follows:—

Province.	Attendance, as returned by the Managers, on the Rolls for half-year, ending 30th Sept., 1846.	Attendance, as returned by the Managers, on the Rolls for half-year, ending 30th Sept., 1847.	Decrease in 1847, as compared with 1846.	No. of Schools in operation on the 31st Dec., 1847.	Average Decrease per School.
Ulster . . . . .	148,844	132,524	16,320	1,598	10.21
Munster . . . . .	126,502	108,176	18,326	827	22.15
Leinster . . . . .	122,830	114,333	8,497	940	9.03
Connaught . . . . .	53,600	42,226	11,374	460	24.72
Total No. on rolls on 30th Sept.	451,776	397,259*	54,517	3,825	14.25
Deduct . . . . .	—	—	739†	—	—
Total decrease on the year 1847	—	—	53,778	—	—

\* The attendance in the new schools, taken into connexion, during the three months, between the 30th of September, 1847, and the 31st December, was 5373, which, being added to 397,259, the number on the rolls, upon the 30th of September, makes the whole attendance, at the close of the year, 402,632.—*Commissioners' Report.*

† There being an increase of 739 in the additional attendance upon schools, to which salaries were granted since the 30th of September, 1847, as compared with the corresponding period for the year 1846, we have deducted that number, making the total corresponding decrease in the year 53,778.—*Commissioners' Report.*

In addition to 3825 schools in operation, there were 289, towards which, at various times, building grants had been made; of those grants, 39 were made during the past year, amounting to £2594 10s. 10d. These 289 schools, when in operation, would afford accommodation to 27,096 additional pupils.

The number of schools struck off the rolls during the year 1846, for various reasons specified by the Commissioners, was 82; 14 others were suspended, which might hereafter be reopened; and 224 new schools were added to the list. The total number of schools, therefore, on 31 December, 1847, was 4128, including those in operation, those suspended, and those towards the building of which aid had been promised. The actual and expected attendance in these 4128 schools was 429,728.

The following table shows the progressive increase in the number of National Schools, together with the number of children in attendance from the establishment of the Board, 1831, to 31 December, 1847.

No. and Date of Report.	No. of Schools in operation.	No. of Children on the Rolls.	Parliamentary Grants.*
No. 1, 31st December, 1838 .	789	107,042	£25,000
No. 2, 31st March, 1835 .	1106	145,521	35,000
No. 3, do. 1836 .	1181	153,707	35,000
No. 4, do. 1837 .	1300	166,929	50,000
No. 5, do. 1838 .	1384	169,548	50,000
No. 6, 31st December, 1839 .	1581	192,971	50,000
No. 7, do. 1840 .	1978	232,560	50,000
No. 8, do. 1841 .	2337	281,849	57,000
No. 9, do. 1842 .	2721	319,792	55,000
No. 10, do. 1843 .	2912	355,320	55,000
No. 11, do. 1844 .	3153	395,550	75,000
No. 12, do. 1845 .	3426	432,844	85,000
No. 13, do. 1846 .	3637	456,410	100,000
No. 14, do. 1847 .	3825	402,632	120,000

The following summary exhibits the number of National Schools in each province, and the number of children on the rolls, for the half-year ending 30 September, 1847, distin-

\* This column, showing the Parliamentary grants for each year, does not appear in the Commissioners' Report.

guishing the schools in operation, those to which building grants had been promised, and those suspended.

Province.	Schools in operation, with their attendance on the Rolls, as returned by the Managers, for the half-year, ending the 30th September, 1847.		Schools to which building grants have been promised, with the number of Scholars they will accommodate when completed.		Suspended Schools.	Total No. of Schools in connection, on the 31st Dec., 1847.
	No. of Schools.	Attendance.	No. Building.	Attendance.		
Ulster . .	1598	132,524	61	5,555	—	1,659
Munster . .	827	108,176	112	10,480	1	940
Leinster . .	940	114,333	31	2,745	5	976
Connaught	460	42,226	85	8,316	8	553
Total . .	3825	397,259*	289	27,096	14	4,128

Notwithstanding the causes which had an unfavourable influence upon the attendance at the National Schools in the preceding year, the number of applications for grants to establish new schools, though less than in the year 1846, was considerable, viz., 359. To 224 of these the requisite assistance was given, either for building, or for salaries and books. The remaining 135 applications were rejected, proof not having been furnished of the required daily average attendance of at least 30 pupils; and as to building grants—from the insufficiency of the title exhibited to the land on which the school was proposed to be erected, or from the unsuitableness of the site—as for example, from its not being sufficiently central, or from its contiguity to other National Schools, or from its being on Church or Chapel ground. For at all times it is insisted, that sites for the erection of vested schools shall, wherever possible, be unconnected with houses of worship. But where no convenient site, unconnected with a place of worship, can be obtained, necessity has been yielded to, the Commissioners apprehending one of two things; either the district would remain without a school and be deprived of

\* There was, in addition to this number, an attendance of 5373 children upon schools, to which salaries have been granted since the 30th September, 1847, making the total attendance on the rolls for that half-year 402,632.—*Commissioners' Report.*



education; or the school would, notwithstanding the Commissioners' rejection, be built on the proposed site; and be conducted without their books, control, inspection, and training; in other words, the people, though educated, might be badly educated, and would consider that they had been unjustly excluded by the State from the benefits of the public grant, towards which all the subjects of Her Majesty contribute, in some shape, according to their means.

The total amount of salaries paid to National teachers for the year ending 31 December, 1847, was £50,391 19s. 5d., being an increase under this head of expenditure, as compared with 1846, of £6214 7s. 11d.

The Commissioners neither professed, nor were they authorized by the State, to make grants of salaries to teachers, except *in aid* of local contributions from the Patrons of the schools, and from the parents of the children. The salaries supplied by them were to be regarded as only supplementary to those local payments.

The following is the classification of the teachers, under the revised scale of April, 1846. The teachers are divided into three classes, to which the salaries are—

		Males.	Females.
First Class,	{ 1st Division . . .	£30 . . .	£24 per annum.
	{ 2nd do. . . . .	25 . . .	20 „
	{ 2nd do. . . . .	22 . . .	18 „
Second Class,	{ 1st Division . . .	20 . . .	15 „
	{ 2nd do. . . . .	18 . . .	14 „
Third Class,	{ 1st Division . . .	16 . . .	13 „
	{ 2nd do. . . . .	14 . . .	12 „
Probationary Teachers . . .		10 . . .	9 „
Assistant Teachers . . . .		10 . . .	9 „
Mistresses to teach Needlework . . .		— . . .	6 „

Masters of Agricultural Model Schools, with farms of from four to eight acres annexed, who are competent to conduct both the literary and agricultural departments, receive £10 per annum, in addition to the salary of the class in which they may be placed. Masters, with from two to three acres of land, for the purpose of affording agricultural instruction, receive £5 per annum, in addition to the salary of their class,

provided they conduct both the literary and agricultural departments, and that the Commissioners have approved of agriculture being taught in the school. This scale, compared with the rates of salaries previously paid, of which the minimum was only £8, and the maximum, except in a few cases, £20 per annum, shows a considerable increase to each class. The separation of the classes into divisions is intended to produce increased zeal and diligence amongst the teachers in the performance of their duties. The funds required for carrying out this plan made a large addition to the total expenditure, under the head of salaries to teachers, from 31 March, 1848, to 31 March, 1849.

The estimated value of the books given as free stock, during the year, to 1718 National Schools, was £5532 15s. 9d., a sum exceeding that of the year 1846 by £2389 18s. 11d.

With a view of encouraging improved habits amongst the teachers, a sum of £10 is allotted to each of the 34 school districts, and distributed in gratuities, varying in amount from £1 to £3, to such of the masters and mistresses as most distinguish themselves by the order, neatness, and cleanliness observable in themselves, their pupils, and school-houses. The expense incurred for the year, in carrying out this object, was £307, divided among 187 teachers. The District Inspectors, upon whose recommendation the gratuities were awarded, had reported the effects produced to have been striking and salutary.

The Model Schools in Dublin sustain the high character they have so long enjoyed. The number of pupils on the rolls 30 September, 1847, was, males, 685; females, 430; infants, 316—making a total of 1431. Notwithstanding the calamities of the preceding year, the daily average attendance in the Model Schools had never been so high during any former year; and the number of children absent, on account of sickness, was less than it had been in ordinary years. This exemption from disease was attributed to well-ventilated school-rooms and spacious play-grounds, as well as to the strict attention paid to personal cleanliness, and to the oppor-

tunities afforded, at convenient times, for cheerful recreation.

The literary progress of the children, was considered to be satisfactory. Vocal music, on Hullah's plan, continued to be successfully taught to the pupils and to the teachers in training; who were also instructed simultaneously and upon a large scale, by a master of experience, in the method of linear drawing from models practised in the schools of Germany and England.

The arrangement for the separate religious instruction of the children of all persuasions attending these schools, and also of the teachers in training, continued to be carried into effect every Tuesday, under the respective clergymen, with punctuality and satisfaction. Previously to the arrival of the clergymen, each of the teachers in training is employed in giving catechetical and other religious instruction to a small class of children belonging to his own communion. These teachers attend their respective places of worship on Sundays; and every facility is given, both before and after Divine Service, as well as at other times, for their spiritual improvement, under the directions of their clergy.

The training establishments continued in a prosperous state. There had been trained during the year, and supported at the public expense, 224 National Teachers, of whom 137 were males and 87 were females. There were also trained 14 teachers not connected with National Schools, who maintained themselves during their attendance at the Model Schools. Of the 224 teachers of National Schools trained during the year, 9 were of the Established Church, 37 Presbyterians, 3 Dissenters of other denominations, and 175 Roman Catholics. The total number of male and female teachers trained from the commencement of the proceedings to 31 December, 1847, was 2044. In this number those teachers are omitted who were not connected with National Schools.

The Commissioners keep a Model Farm at Glasnevin, near Dublin. The plan adopted for the management of this farm is, that of making the agriculturist a mere agent for conducting its operations, the Commissioners paying the rent and



taxes of the farm, and requiring him to keep an account of his receipts and disbursements. He is also to lecture on the theory and practice of agriculture to the agricultural pupils and agricultural teachers, and to all the masters in training. He had under his charge, at the time the report was made, twelve agricultural pupils, and the same number of agricultural teachers, who performed all the necessary labour on the farm. Besides these, he was permitted to receive into his house a limited number of pupils of a higher class, for whom the Commissioners provided accommodation, but who paid the agriculturist a moderate sum per annum for their board, lodging, and instruction.

There is a National School attached to the training establishment at Glasnevin. This experiment of uniting literary instruction with an industrial training, suited to the wants and circumstances of the locality, was deemed so far successful. The Commissioners say,—

“It has proved that literary instruction and practical instruction in gardening, together with some knowledge of agriculture, may be successfully communicated to boys in a National School by one master, provided he be zealous and skilful. No difficulty has been experienced in inducing a limited number of the advanced boys to work in the garden two hours each day, after the ordinary school-business. The scholars composing the industrial class are paid sixpence a week each for their labour; and the produce of the garden is valued to the Commissioners, at the current market prices, for the use of the teachers and domestics in the male and female training establishments: an account is kept by the teacher of the receipts as well as of the expenses of cultivation. Our masters in training have thus an opportunity of seeing a model of what a small village school ought to be in a rural district, and how far it is practicable, under one and the same master, to unite literary and industrial education. The boys employed in cultivating the garden attend daily, together with the teachers in training, a course of lectures on the elementary principles of agriculture, as well as of gardening. The practical information they thus acquire, and the habits of industry to which they become accustomed, cannot fail to be highly serviceable to them in after life.”

The Commissioners express a strong opinion in favour of the establishment of similar schools in other parts of Ireland, conceiving that no greater boon could be conferred upon the

country; but the expense seems to offer an irresistible bar to the extension of the experiment. More money has already been spent upon the establishment at Glasnevin than any Parliamentary Committee would be likely to sanction: if that expense is to be repeated in every county the outlay will be enormous. No doubt the depressed state of agriculture and industrial enterprise consequent upon the late dearth will justify the recourse to extraordinary stimulants; but in a national system there are principles which never can be safely overlooked or invaded, and no principle appears more settled by authority and experience than that a government can never meddle with trading operations without injury to trade, and a loss of money by the transaction. It appears quite clear that these agricultural schools must trade in agriculture upon capital to be provided by the State.

As the Commission proceeds the sphere of its operations becomes more enlarged. Evening schools have been lately introduced, to afford the means of instruction to adults whose daily avocations offer no other opportunities for improvement. The schools of the various workhouses, 104 in number, which have been wretchedly conducted, are now placed with a fair promise of improvement under the inspection of the Commissioners. The success of the large model school in Dublin has led to the erection of district model schools at Dunmanway, Clonmel, Bailieborough, Ballymena, Newry, Coléraine, and Trim; and it is proposed that in connexion with three of these—Dunmanway, Bailieborough, and Trim—there should be District Model Farms.

The condition and prospects of the agricultural schools established by the Commissioners are fully set forth. There were in operation, 31 December, 1847, seven model agricultural schools; and building grants of £200 each had been made to 10 others of this class. There were 12 other agricultural schools with small portions of land attached to them; the masters of these are paid an additional salary of £5 per annum for their agricultural services; and other emoluments are secured to them by the local managers. Since the com-

mencement of the year 1848, several applications had been received for aid, both to model and ordinary agricultural schools; so that the establishment of a greater number was hopefully anticipated.

The model agricultural school at Kyle Park, in the county of Tipperary, which was erected some years ago at an expense of £600 and upwards, towards which the Commissioners made a grant of £200, has from various causes not succeeded under local management. Being desirous that this school should have a further trial, under their own control, and that agricultural instruction should be thereby afforded to the labouring classes in that part of Ireland, the Commissioners had taken the land and premises, at a moderate rent, upon lease. The establishment being thus vested in themselves, and conducted under their own direction, they had appointed a teacher, trained at their model farm, who superintends both the agricultural and literary departments. Not having any local aid to assist him in cultivating the farm, they supplied him with the means, to a moderate amount, of providing stock, the cost of which he will be required to repay. The result of this experiment is promised in the next Report, and will deserve particular attention.

An agricultural class book, for the use of the advanced pupils attending the National Schools, has been published, which is to be read by all the pupils capable of understanding its contents. It is designed to explain, as simply as possible, the best mode of managing a small farm and kitchen garden. This reading book is not, however, designed as an agricultural manual for the teachers. That want is to be supplied by the publication of a series of agricultural works, rising from the simplest elementary book to scientific teaching of a high character, and comprehending various branches of practical knowledge bearing upon the subject of agricultural instruction.

The propriety of adopting measures for the extension of agricultural instruction in connexion with the National Schools, and of increasing the grants towards their establish-



ment and support, has been considered. A letter from Lord Monteagle, highly approved of, contains various suggestions for the establishment and government of agricultural schools, and the Commissioners have resolved to embody many of those suggestions in their plan for diffusing more widely the benefit of agricultural instruction.

Having inquired whether there are any National Schools favourably circumstanced for combining literary with agricultural instruction, and whether eligible sites could be procured for the erection of model agricultural schools, to be conducted on the plan of that at Larne, the Commissioners have resolved that they ought to increase their grant towards the building of model agricultural schools, with a teacher's residence, and the necessary farm buildings attached to each, from £200 to £300, upon a local expenditure of at least £150 ; that from six to eight acres of land shall be annexed to each of these schools, the premises to be vested in the Commissioners in their corporate capacity, for a term of at least three lives and thirty-one years. To the teachers of the model agricultural schools a salary of at least £30 a year is to be given, besides a suitable residence, and accommodation for a limited number of agricultural pupils ; and a portion of the grant is to be applied to assist in the purchase of stock, and the necessary farm implements. The advanced boys attending model agricultural schools are to receive instruction, during school hours, in the theory of agriculture, by means of the series of books to be provided ; and they will be required to assist, before or after school hours, in the labour of the farm.

The Commissioners are also desirous of increasing the number of ordinary agricultural schools to which only two or three acres of land are attached. No doubt is entertained that many managers of existing National Schools, in country districts, will avail themselves even of the limited assistance given to those schools.

A plan has been decided upon by which, in a limited number of *large* National Schools situated in rural districts, agricultural instruction is to be introduced, subject to certain con-

ditions : but it is not necessary to specify these. They tend still more to widen the sphere of the Commissioners' operations, and to involve additional liabilities on account of farming as a trade, which appear full of risk and speculation. It is, upon the whole, a question whether the permanent welfare of the National System may not be destined to suffer materially from these proceedings. The original plan has now been carried far beyond its natural limits ; the State is charged with unusual functions ; there may be a considerable loss of money from the agricultural operations undertaken ; the results produced at Glasnevin and at Kyle have been far from satisfactory ; so that, upon the whole, it is not easy to escape from an apprehension of impending danger when we bear in mind that all this has been done without the authority of a Parliamentary Committee, or any sanction from one or other of those formal preliminaries by which the process of judicious improvement is generally to be distinguished from the zeal of precipitate innovation.

The general character and cost of the National System will be discerned in the items of the last annual account, subjoined on next page—





Two Summaries are appended to this Annual Report, supplying a variety of desirable Statistics to illustrate the working of the general system. The First is a Summary in Provinces, of 3825 Schools in operation on the 31st December, 1847.

PROVINCES.	Number of Schools.	Number of Children on the Rolls, as returned by the Managers, for the Half-years ending						Number of Teachers.		Aid granted during the year ending the 31st. December, 1847.										Amount of Local Contribution towards Building and Fitting-up.									
		31st March, 1847.								30th September, 1847.																			
		Males.		Fe-males.		Total.		Males.		Fe-males.		Total.		Building.		Fitting-up.		School Requisites at Half-price.			Free Stock.		Salary, Amount paid during the Year.						
		£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.		£	s. d.	£	s. d.					
Ulster . . .	1,598	79,124	57,441	136,565	73,752	58,772	132,524	1,339	382	1,339	382	1,339	382	6	0	0	—	1,592	15	1	1,780	19	6	21,007	11	1	3	0	0
Munster . . .	827	51,000	46,912	97,912	57,162	51,014	108,176	615	388	615	388	133	6	8	—	—	969	14	1	1,289	7	10	10,880	8	4	63	13	4	
Leinster . . .	940	53,183	50,510	103,693	58,775	55,558	114,333	445	452	445	452	200	0	0	—	—	1,391	17	8	1,282	1	9	12,714	11	8	0	0	0	
Connaught . . .	460	25,833	19,159	44,992	23,880	18,346	42,226	343	176	343	176	200	0	0	20	0	0	213	2	2	744	17	8	5,566	16	8	110	0	0
Total . . .	3,825	209,140	174,022	383,162	213,569	183,690	397,259	2,942	1,398	2,942	1,398	345	6	8	20	0	0	4,107	9	0	5,097	6	9	50,169	7	9	182	13	4

MAURICE CROSS, }  
JAMES KELLY, } Secretaries.

NOTE.—Of the above 3825 schools in operation, there are 114 which receive no other aid from the Board than books and the benefits of inspection. They are divided as follow—104 Workhouse Schools, 6 Gael Schools, and 4 Ordinary National Schools, of which the Managers or Patrons decline to receive salary. The number of children on the books belonging to these schools, on the 30th September, 1847, was 29,495.

The Second is a Summary in Provinces of the Number of National Schools Vested and Not Vested on 1st June, 1848.

PROVINCES.	Vested Schools.				Not Vested Schools.			
	Number of schoolhouses Vested either by Lease or Bond.		Number of School-rooms.		Number of School-rooms.		Total Number of School-rooms, with Roll Numbers, in Vested and Not Vested Houses, on 1st June, 1848.	
	Lease.	Bond.	Mixed, attended by Males and Females.	SEPARATE. Male. Fe-male. Infant.	Mixed, attended by Males and Females.	SEPARATE. Male. Fe-male. Infant.	Total.	Total.
Ulster . . .	927	29	323	160 98 1	931	126 156 4	1,217	226 254 5
Connaught . . .	229	19	238	131 131 2	271	124 132 7	534	368 273 9
Leinster . . .	175	19	194	138 142 3	281	172 161 6	640	310 333 9
Munster . . .	155	3	158	70 70 2	213	53 57 —	323	123 127 2
Total . . .	866	70	996	457 461 8	1,606	475 536 17	2,714	932 987 25

MAURICE CROSS, }  
JAMES KELLY, } Secretaries.

The National System was resolutely opposed for some time, but without wringing concessions either from Whigs or Tories, or rousing any public hostility to its progress. A line of competing operations was then determined upon, and the CHURCH EDUCATION SOCIETY of Ireland made its appearance in the year 1839. There were scattered throughout the country a number of small schools connected with the Protestant Church, and chiefly maintained by the zeal of its ministers. It was proposed to unite all these together, and render them more efficient by a combined plan of government and teaching under a central board sitting in Dublin, and corresponding with the different local associations. The professed objects of the society are “to *assist* schools at present existing in the country, and to establish new schools on an improved system, for the purpose of affording to the children of the Church instruction in the Holy Scriptures, and in the catechism and other formularies of the Church, under the direction of the bishops and parochial clergy, and under the tuition of teachers who are members of the United Church of England and Ireland.” Such being the plan, the result, so far as it has been tried, appears to have satisfied its promoters. The Protestant Church, when driven to exertion, would seem to have no mean capabilities and resources. In the year 1845, the number of schools in connexion with this society was 1811; in the year 1846, the number was 1899. The income of the general society for 1846 was £4643 18s. 5d.; and of the Diocesan Associations, £36,995 5s. 0½d. The average number of pupils during the latter year was stated to be 96,815, including 12,832 Protestant Dissenters; and 29,691 Roman Catholics. Dr. Elrington, the Regius Professor of Divinity in Trinity College, who used to belong to the society but was induced to leave it by the conviction forced upon his mind of the superior fitness and efficacy of the National System, asserts that there are not 1000 Roman Catholics in these schools who can read. The committee nevertheless contend that the number of Roman Catholics actually reading the Scriptures in their schools, during the year 1846, was 10,681.

The following is the Society's last Summary of Receipts, Number of Schools, and Children, in Attendance:—

No.	Diocesan Societies.	Receipts—including Balances from previous year.		No. of Schools in connexion.		No. of Children on Rolls.		Average attendance 1847.
		1846.	1847.	1846.	1847.	1846.	1847.	
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.					
1	Achonry . . . . .	162 0 0	204 3 6	27	23	675	1,488	678
2	Ardagh . . . . .	794 7 9½	821 14 6	47	56	2,491	3,427	2,297
3	Ardfert and Aghadoe . . . . .	563 8 8	654 17 5½	27	29	994	2,290	1,694
4	Armagh . . . . .	5,888 13 7½	5,654 13 8½	265	259	17,557	22,374	12,228
5	Cashel and Emly . . . . .	675 8 8½	566 8 7½	23	24	902	942	584
6	Clogher—Enniskillen Branch . . . . .	756 1 9½	602 0 7½	80	87	4,601	3,660	1,824
7	Clogher—Monaghan Branch . . . . .	967 11 5	872 17 1	61	58	3,595	4,305	2,590
8	Clonfert & Kilmacduagh . . . . .	355 15 5	365 9 8	15	17	853	1,415	674
9	Cork, Cloyne, and Ross . . . . .	4,909 1 2½	4,884 3 3	233	259	8,751	14,053	9,347
10	Derry . . . . .	1,549 1 8	1,195 1 10½	108	111	4,466	5,591	3,193
11	Down and Connor, and Dromore . . . . .	3,137 17 8	2,885 13 10	183	171	11,644	12,955	8,415
12	Elphin . . . . .	1,358 0 2½	1,070 1 6	99	83	4,076	4,187	2,601
13	Ferns . . . . .	1,615 13 1½	1,538 0 1	75	77	3,926	3,738	2,492
14	Glandelagh . . . . .	833 2 5	833 2 5	49	49	2,713	2,713	1,808
15	Kildare . . . . .	1,242 18 1	745 11 6	45	46	2,157	1,785	1,368
16	Killala . . . . .	77 5 0	170 19 8	18	18	441	1,373	932
17	Killaloe and Kilfenora—Tipperary Branch . . . . .	423 3 5	434 7 11	27	28	1,231	1,629	1,053
18	Killaloe and Kilfenora—Clare Branch . . . . .	390 10 2	278 10 10	19	21	968	990	627
19	Kilmore . . . . .	2,226 14 2	1,456 1 1	119	102	9,192	8,737	4,815
20	Leighlin—Carlow Branch . . . . .	1,565 3 7	1,326 18 8½	64	55	2,286	2,332	1,505
21	Leighlin—Maryborough Branch . . . . .	451 4 5½	479 13 2	13	14	642	849	528
22	Limerick . . . . .	452 10 0	529 3 9	25	22	1,084	1,690	1,105
23	Ossory . . . . .	974 10 7	834 3 5	39	36	1,533	1,870	841
24	Raphoe . . . . .	709 10 9	555 10 11	46	44	2,751	2,581	1,173
25	Tuam . . . . .	565 18 10	319 13 0	32	50	1,248	3,055	2,037
26	Waterford and Lismore . . . . .	1,276 17 2½	1,175 1 5½	30	33	1,066	1,527	1,010
	Total . . . . .	33,922 9 11½	30,354 3 6½	1,785	1,742	91,843	111,504	67,389
	Church Education Society for Ireland . . . . .	4,643 18 5	7,294 16 10*					
	Schools in direct connexion with the Church Education Society . . . . .	3,072 14 2	2,761 8 2	114	117	4,972	5,454	3,699
	Total . . . . .	14,639 2 6½	40,410 8 6½	1,899	1,859	96,815	116,968	71,088

The Roman Catholics have a society for the education of the poor, which has been in existence since the year 1802, and is extensively known. It is a religious order, consisting of men who follow the rule of life instituted early in the last century by a French priest, the Venerable John Baptist de la Salle. The members call themselves Brothers of the Christian Schools, and they devote themselves to the education of the poor, taking vows of poverty, celibacy, and obedience to their superior. The chief seat of their order in Ireland is at Waterford, but their largest schools are in Dublin and Cork. Although French by association, the society has some claims

\* Not including sales of Books, value of Grants, and payments by Diocesan Societies on account of Inspection.



to originality. It was founded in Ireland by Mr. Edmond Rice, a native of Waterford, who being much struck by the good effects produced by the gratuitous instruction which the nuns of the Presentation Convent in that city were in the habit of giving to the daughters of the poorer inhabitants, proposed to extend the same benefit to their sons. Being encouraged in this design by his bishop he succeeded in gaining companions, and opened the first Christian Brothers' school in Waterford, in the year 1804. He enjoyed the satisfaction of seeing ten others established in Ireland before the infirmities of age compelled him to resign the office of superior, in the year 1838. As the project extended and became popular, efforts appear to have been made to obtain a papal brief authorizing the formal constitution of the society as a distinct religious order of the Roman Catholic Church. But its obvious similarity to the schools of the Christian Brothers in France attracting the notice of Dr. Murray, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, the rules of the French Institute were recommended by that prelate for adoption, and were ultimately agreed to in the year 1817. A brief from Pope Pius VII. having confirmed this proceeding, the Brothers met in Waterford, and pronounced their vows according to the new constitution, January 12, 1822.

The Institute of the Christian Brothers, or rather the Irish Branch of it, is composed of 18 houses; of which 10 are in Ireland, seven in England, and one is at Sidney, in New South Wales. The Irish schools are, in Dublin 2, Waterford, Cork, Limerick,\* Dungarvan, Carrick-on-Suir, Thurles, Ennistymon, and Claren Bridge. The total number of scholars has been estimated as high as 14,000, but may perhaps be more fairly taken at about 10,000 on the average. The instruction given is elementary, and much after the plan first introduced by the Kildare Place Society and subsequently improved by the National Board. The books published by the Christian

\* It was to the schoolhouse of the Christian Brothers at Limerick that Gerald Griffin, the author of the *Collegians*, retired, dissatisfied with the world and with literature. He died a short time after he had taken the vows.

Brothers are judiciously compiled, and show that the Institute does not lag behind the other establishments of a like kind in point of general intelligence and liberality. There is still the same perceptible tendency to inculcate Roman Catholic prepossessions which was noticed by the Education Commissioners of 1826; but this is not now carried to the extreme condemned in their Report. In point of fact, the works of the Brothers—with one exception, a life of the French founder, De la Salle, which is ill-written and superstitiously conceived—are such as may be placed with safety and advantage in the hands of any child.

Two other institutions for the education of the lower orders remain to be noticed. The first is the Sunday School Society, established in the year 1809, and supported by voluntary contributions. Its chief office is in Sackville Street, Dublin; but it has branches and correspondents in England and Scotland. The stated objects of this Society is “to promote the establishment and facilitate the conducting of Sunday Schools in Ireland, without regard to religious distinctions.” But the committee and teachers being all Protestants, and the instruction given being pre-eminently of a Protestant character and tendency, the Sunday Schools are discountenanced by the Roman Catholic clergy. The income of the Society has reached £3000 a year, and its statistics are displayed by the committee in the following table for the year 1848:

PROVINCES.	Population in 1841.	No. of Schools.	No. of Scholars.	No. of Gratuitous Teachers.
Ulster . . . .	2,386,373	1,969	165,082	14,987
Leinster . . . .	1,973,731	447	33,588	3,178
Munster . . . .	2,306,161	388	16,805	1,799
Connaught . . .	1,418,973	160	8,657	686
Total . . .	8,175,238	2,964	224,132	20,650

Our last remaining educational institute of this class is the IRISH SOCIETY for promoting the scriptural education of the native Irish in their own language. Protestant clergymen are

the principal managers of this institution, which, in the year 1838, had an income, derived from voluntary subscriptions, of £5157 15s. 2d. The number of schools then connected with the Society was 770, with 18,843 scholars.

The parliamentary session of 1845 claims a memorable rank in the annals of education in Ireland. Two measures were then passed by Sir Robert Peel, creditable in the highest degree to the talents and liberality of that statesman, and admirably calculated to produce benefits of the most extensive and enduring character.

The first of these—the Maynooth College Act—may be more conveniently described in the account, which will be presently given, of that institution. The second was even more important. The principle of the National System—namely, education open to the influence of religion, but wholly freed from the bias of sectarianism—having passed triumphantly through all the trying ordeals to which it had been subjected, and having been shown, by experience amongst the lower classes of the people, to be the one which of all others is best adapted to the peculiar state of the country, the next progressive step was maturely taken by instituting schools for the middle classes upon the same excellent model. For this purpose the Act 8 & 9 Vict. c. 66,\* was passed, which empowers the Lords

\* The carrying of this Act was an easy triumph to the Prime Minister. Much more trying were the labours of the gentleman who originated the idea and prepared the way for its adoption. This was the Right Honourable Thomas Wyse, at present our minister in Greece;—a man who has done more to serve the cause of education in Ireland than any other of his cotemporaries. During a series of years he applied himself with singular zeal and perseverance to the arduous task of placing the subject fully before Parliament and the public in its various details. The Committees of the House of Commons, in the sessions of 1835, 1836, and 1838, supply lasting records of the assiduity with which he devoted no common learning and talents to this important subject. His letter to Lord Morpeth in favour of Provincial Colleges in Ireland, printed by order of the House of Commons, supplied distinctly the plan of Sir Robert Peel's legislation. His services have not been acknowledged as they ought to have been. No public honour has been conferred upon Mr. Wyse in connexion with this matter. He has distinguished himself highly; but when he reflects upon his long and most meritorious exertions for the education of his fellow countrymen, he has to content himself philosophically with the poet—

• “Hoc mihi premium erit, tulit alter honores.”



of the Treasury to issue £100,000 for purchasing or providing land and buildings for Colleges, to be founded by letters patent, in Ireland, together with an annual sum not exceeding £7000 to any one college, or £21,000 in the whole, for the stipends, to be fixed by her Majesty, for the president, vice-president, professors, bursar, other officers and servants of each college, and for the prizes and exhibitions.

The leading provisions of this Statute are as follow :—

The Commissioners for Public Works are trustees for providing the land and buildings.

Any land, &c., to which these Colleges may become entitled is not to be alienated without the approval of the Lords of the Treasury, except by lease for a term not exceeding thirty-one years, in which the best yearly rent that can be reasonably obtained shall be reserved without fine or foregift.

Fees from students may be demanded by professors (in addition to their stipends) for attending on their lectures; and by the bursar for matriculation, and for such other collegiate proceedings as shall be provided by the statutes, rules, &c., to be approved by her Majesty.

Students are to dwell with their parents or guardians, or some near relations or friends selected by them and approved by the president, or with some tutor or master of a boarding-house licensed for the purpose, or in a hall endowed for the reception of students and recognized by the College.

Boarding-houses are to be licensed by the president, the applicant being a fit person, and the premises being suitable in extent and accommodation, and in the provision made for insuring religious instruction and attendance at divine worship, as approved by the parents or guardians of the students and recognized by the College. Each license to be for the academical year, renewable under the like regulations, and revocable in case of misbehaviour by the licensed person or the students boarding with him, whenever in the opinion of the president and a majority of the professors there ought to be a revocation of the license.

Halls for the reception of students may be endowed by deed

or will, &c., conveying or devising real property or chattels to any willing trustee, or to the Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests. The deed, &c., to establish rules for endowment, or specify an authority for the purpose, and also specify an authority to enforce observance of the rules; but the hall not to be recognized, if the rules and authority for enforcing them shall not be subject to approval by the visitors.

Loans of money for building halls may be made by the Commissioners of Public Works to persons incorporated by letters patent to found them.

Religious instruction is to be given in lecture-rooms within the College, which are to be wholly or in part assigned for the use of such religious teachers as shall be recognized by the governing body, subject to the approval of the Crown. Students are not to be compelled to attend religious instruction without the approval of parents or guardians; and no religious test is to be administered as a qualification for any collegiate office, advantage, or privilege. But these provisions are not to interfere with the regulations for securing attendance at divine worship approved by the parents or guardians.

Endowments may be made, by deed or will, for religious teachers, subject to the acceptance and regulations of the governing body as approved by the Crown; and for this purpose real property or chattels may be conveyed or devised to any willing trustee, or to the Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests.

Visitors are to be appointed, and statutes, rules, &c., approved by her Majesty.

A president and vice-president are to be appointed and hold office, as well as the professors, during the pleasure of her Majesty.

The professors are to be appointed by the Crown; but, after the year 1848, Parliament may otherwise provide.

All statutes, rules, &c., are to be laid before both Houses of Parliament within six weeks from the commencement of the session held first after their being made or approved; and Reports to her Majesty are to be made annually, and whenever

required, from each College; and a copy of every Report is to be laid before both Houses of Parliament.

These Colleges are to be thrown open in the month of October, 1849, in Belfast, Cork, and Galway. Each College is to be governed by a president, with a salary of £1000 a year, and a vice-president with a salary of £500. The following is the advertised list of professors to be appointed to each, with their respective salaries:—

Professors, Greek Language	£250	Modern Languages	£200
„ Latin „	250	Jurisprudence and Political	
History and English Literature	250	Economy	160
Logic and Metaphysics	250	English Law	150
Mathematics	250	Civil Engineering	150
Natural Philosophy	250	Agriculture	150
Chemistry	200	The Irish Language	100
Anatomy and Physiology	200	Practice of Medicine	100
Natural History	200	Practice of Surgery	100
Mineralogy, and Geology, and		Materia Medica	100
Curatorship of Museum	200	Midwifery	100

Each professor is entitled to receive, in addition to the salary attached to his chair, the regulated class-fees paid by the students attending his lectures.

Having thus far described the pedestal and shaft of the Educational Column, we have now to analyse its capital, which may be taken to be composed of three establishments—Trinity College, Dublin; Maynooth College; and the Belfast Academic Institution.

Our chief authorities upon the subject of Trinity College are three in number, and each so far good as to leave us in the possession of a full body of information, a point or two respecting money matters solely and most inopportunately reserved. These authorities are—the Introduction to the Dublin University Calendar for the year 1833, an excellent composition, and the two Histories of the University by Taylor and Heron; the former published in the year 1845, and the latter in 1847. The following summary is chiefly taken from Mr. Heron's volume, as the latest and the best that has appeared.

The first statutes for Trinity College were framed by Bishop



Bedell, and remodelled by Archbishop Laud, who was elected Chancellor in the year 1633: Laud's scheme was embodied in a new charter, for which Charles I. issued letters patent. It is by the constitution thus furnished that the College is mainly governed to this day.

The subserviency to the ruling power in England manifested by these early proceedings cost the University no small portion of its independence. The Fellows were deprived of the power, which they originally possessed, of enacting laws for the government of the College; and the Crown, in assuming that, took also the right of nominating the Provost. Two Visitors were appointed, namely, the Chancellor—who is chosen by the Provost and Fellows, or in his absence the Vice-Chancellor, who is nominated by the Chancellor—and the Archbishop of Dublin for the time being. Celibacy and certain oaths were imposed upon the Fellows and Scholars; and it is remarkable that the oaths omit all passages which the Roman Catholics object to swear.

The Provosts of Trinity College have not made themselves celebrated. For a long term of years there is but one name presented to our notice amongst them which suggests matter for a particular observation; and perhaps, if he had been a Provost only, he would have proved as unworthy of notice as the great body of his predecessors and successors. But John Hely Hutchinson, besides being Provost of Trinity College, figured as a lawyer and a statesman, and filled the offices of Prime Sergeant and Secretary of State. He was a man of lively talent and busy character, who rivalled Archbishop Loftus in the unblushing rapacity with which he solicited places and pensions. He was the modest gentleman of whom Lord North is said to have observed, that if you were to give him England and Ireland for his estate, he would ask you to throw in the Isle of Man as a potatoe-garden. The well-known Dr. Duigenan dwelt with many regrets, in his *Lachrymæ Academicæ*, upon Hutchinson's conduct as Provost, as well as upon the number and value of his various appointments. "The College walks and gardens," says the mourning

Doctor, "heretofore sacred to the exercise and contemplation of the sober academic, is now infested by himself and military officers, mounted on prancing horses; his wife and adult daughters, with their train of female companions; and his infant children, their nurses and go-carts; who, by their clamour and pomp, have banished the usages and may probably be the authors of greater and more serious evils." Provost Hutchinson, however, was not one of those who enjoyed his office idly. He designed a gymnasium and a riding-school: he introduced a fencing-master, who taught the use of the sword in the Senate House, and constituted two professorships of modern languages. Provost Hutchinson's name also appears, in connection with the subject of education in Ireland, as a member of the only Commission appointed to inquire into the state of the Public Schools before the Union.

Roman Catholics were only admitted to study in Trinity College in the year 1794. The year before an Act of Parliament had passed, which enabled them to be called to the bar, to be received by attorneys as apprentices, to enjoy the exercise of the elective franchise, and obtain scholastic instruction. It was in consequence of this statute that George III. addressed a letter to the University, indicating the expediency of admitting Roman Catholics to study and obtain degrees in the College. The University bowed to the mandate; but especial care was taken to extend some honours only, and none of the emoluments, of that learned institution to the new students. No Roman Catholic can obtain a fellowship or place of profit in the University. His case, in this respect, is a hard one; for it appears that he may stand for and obtain a scholarship, but having done so, he is denied the rights and income belonging to that grade.\*

The wealth of Trinity College, like the wealth of the Protestant Church, whose wet-nurse it has always been, is proverbially great; and the College, like the Church, is infeli-

\* See the case of *Heron v. The Provost and Senior Fellows of Trinity College, Dublin*, reported by MacDonnell and Handcock.

citously distinguished by the small number of its alumni who have become famous. We have two published accounts of the income of this learned mother, and they are both entitled to credit. The one, a general estimate, is by Mr. Longueville Jones, in Huber's "English Universities," vol. ii. Appendix, p. 569. The other, by Mr. Heron, author of the "Constitutional History of the University," goes minutely into details, and is particularly valuable. According to the first of these authorities the income of the Provost is £2000 a year; the College officers are paid £20,000 a year; the fellows, £25,400 a year; the professors and lecturers, £4000 a year; the scholars, £2100 a year; the rent of College chambers is £2000 a year; and the revenues from the College estates, £31,500 a year. Total, £86,600 per annum, to which may be added the 31 benefices in the gift of the College, which are valued by him at £9300 a year.

Mr. Heron furnishes the following details:—



Analytical Table of the Endowments of Trinity College since the Foundation, from Heron's "Constitutional History of the University."

FOR BUILDING.	FOR THE LIBRARY.		FOR EXHIBITIONS.		FOR FELLOWSHIPS AND PROFESSORSHIPS.	FOR PRIZES.	ENDOWMENTS, WITHOUT ANY SPECIFIC CONTRIBUTION ATTACHED TO THEM.	
	1691.	1693.	DONATIONS.	PER ANNUM.			1697.	1830.
Public Collection	£2,000	£700	Prof. Briggs, of Gresham College	£200	1698.	1752.	Public Collection (of which Lord Strafford gave £100)	Lands granted by the Corporation of Dublin, per Annum
James Margetson	50	1,800	Mr. W. Crow	30	1698.	1796.	700	£300 0
Dr. Michael Boyle	200	400	Erasmus Smith	250	1741.	Bishop Lawe's Mathematical Prize	1698.	The Lands granted by Elizabeth, per Annum
Dr. Geo. Brown	1,200	100	Mr. Spau	12	1741.	1797.	30	£100 0
Archbishop Pal-liser	1,000	100	Bishop Stearne	100	1741.	Downes	1670.	15,000 0
Elwood	1,000	15,000	Rev. John Worrall	120	1741.	1758.	70	£200 0
Andrews, for an Observatory	3,000	1,200	Lloyd Exhibitions	40	1741.	Dr. Madden about	250	£388 15
Board of Eras-mus Smith, at various times	4,165	200	Academic Association Exhibitions	60	1741.	Primate's Hebrew Prizes	100	1605.
From William III. to George III. the Irish Parliament granted	75,000	100	Countess of Bath	200	1741.	The Royal Scholarships from the Estates of the Schools of En-niskillen, Ar-magh, &c.	1,225	The Lands granted by James I., per Annum
Parliament also lent £20,000 free of interest.		500	Dr. Michael Boyle, &c.	100	1741.	1832.	36,000	1670.
		200	King William III. gave to the Library all books seized from those attainted of treason.		1741.	Received for replacing University Electors on the College books, (3005 Electors re-placed their names at £2 each, see Un-cal. 1833, page 96; Lewis's Top. Dic. page 332.)	6,010	Sir Jerome Alex-ander
		500	Earl of Pembroke	500	1741.	1842.	150	Mrs. Echlin gave the Lands of the Killany and Ross Maghlinin Louth.
		200	Archbishop Palliser	200	1741.	1845.	80	1758.
		1,500	His Library, worth	1,500	1741.	Irish Scholarships	150	Provost Baldwin's estates
		500	Bishop Foster	500	1741.	Bedell Scholar-ships	40	FOR THE PROVOST.
		600	Bishop Pratt	600	1741.	1842.	27,000	1661.
		1,200	Bishop Stearne, for a Printing Press	1,200	1741.	1845.	300 0	By Act of Settle-ment, Rent-charge
		1,500	Dr. Gilbert's Library, &c. worth	1,500	1741.	1845.	3,500 0	Estates in Galway and Meath
		2,450	and Cash	2,450	1741.	1845.	15,000	Average sum re-ceived, since 1842, for the Electors
		8,000	Erasmus Smith's Board	8,000	1741.	1845.	300 0	Total
		500	Quin's Library	500	1741.	1845.	£32,612 15	Interest
Total	£37,615	£36,350	Total	£332	Total per Ann.	£2,082	£32,612 15	Per Annum
			Interest on same, at 4 per cent., if existing at the present day, £24.	24	£2,670	£2,082	£3,768 0	£36,380 15
			Total per An-num	656				

THE COLLEGE FEES PAID IN 1846, according to Mr. Heron, amounted to £26,710, made up as follows :—

In the University Calendar for 1847, 269 pensioners appear as having entered. They each paid £15, equal to . . . . .	£4,035
Nineteen entered as Fellow Commoners : they each paid £30, equal to . . . . .	570
1081 pensioners appear in the four classes above those who entered in 1846 : they each paid £15, equal to . . . . .	16,215
128 Fellow Commoners paid each £30, equal to . . . . .	3,840
There are 150 names of graduate pensioners on the books. These are principally composed of Divinity Students, and pay each £15. I believe there are a few names on this list who pay nothing. 150 at £15 each would amount to £2250: we will strike off £200 and say . . . . .	2,050
Total amount from Fees in 1846 . . . . .	<u>£26,710</u>

The SUMS RECEIVED FOR DEGREES IN 1846 were, according to Mr. Heron :—

		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
2 Degrees of D.D.	each	26	0	0	52	0	0
6 „ LL.D.	„	22	0	0	132	0	0
2 „ B.D.	„	13	0	0	26	0	0
53 „ A.M.	„	9	16	0	519	8	0
8 „ LL.B.	„	11	15	0	94	0	0
9 „ M.B.	„	11	15	0	105	15	0
206 „ A.B. Pensioners	„	8	17	6	1828	5	0
24 „ A.B. Fellow Coms.	„	17	5	0	414	0	0
Total amount received from Degrees in 1846					<u>£3171</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>

The value of the College property in chambers is :—

	Deposit.	Rent.
Total amount for Park Square . . . . .	£1800	£530
„ Library . . . . .	1872	504
„ Parliament do. . . . .	2680	685
„ Botany Bay Square . . . . .	1992	545
	<u>£8144</u>	<u>£2264</u>
£8144 at 4 per cent. . . . .		324
Total yearly value of Chambers in Trinity College		<u>£2588</u>

Upon the various particulars, thus set forth in detail, Mr. Heron estimates the PRESENT ANNUAL INCOME OF TRINITY COLLEGE as follows :—

	£	s.	d.
Total amount of fees in 1846 . . . . .	26,710	0	0
Degrees in 1846 . . . . .	3,171	0	0
Total yearly value of the chambers . . . . .	2,588	0	0
Annual average from fines imposed upon the students . . . . .	1,000	0	0
Provost's estate in Galway . . . . .	2,800	0	0
Rent-charge on forfeited estates in Dublin (by Act of Settlement, 1660) . . . . .	300	0	0
Provost's estate in Meath . . . . .	700	0	0
Rental of the College estates* according to the average of the four years terminating 1818, exclusive of fines—Whitelaw's Hist. of Dublin, vol.ii. p.558, £15,250: but on good authority we may state the rental to be now . . . . .	22,000	0	0
Annual average of renewal fines† . . . . .	5,000	0	0
Rental of the College property in the city of Dublin . . . . .	900	0	0
Pensions . . . . .	688	15	0
Endowments for Professorships, &c. . . . .	1,500	0	0
Exhibitions . . . . .	556	0	0
Average annual sum cleared from placing University electors on the College books . . . . .	200	0	0
The Exhibitions, from the estates of the Royal schools and other endowments for prizes . . . . .	1,935	0	0
<b>Total Income of Trinity College . . . . .</b>	<b>£70,048</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>0</b>

Mr. Heron, taking the University Calendar as his guide, shows that the disposal of this income and the government of the establishment are wholly in the hands of the Provost and Senior Fellows; the place of an absent Senior Fellow being supplied by the Junior Fellow next in order of seniority. This appears to constitute the College Board, and its members divide amongst themselves whatever College property remains, after paying the salaries of the Fellows, the Professors, the prizes, and other College expenses.

The Provost and Senior Fellows, (or the Provost and a majority of the Senior Fellows, viz., four,) thus assembled, determine all elections of Fellows, Scholars, and College officers, and grant *graces* for all University decrees.

THE CAPUT SENATUS ACADEMICI is a council consisting of the

\* The landed property of the University has been stated in Parliament to consist of 231,000 acres.—*Hansard*, 3rd ser. vol. lxx. p. 1127.

† The renewal fines are divided into nine parts, of which two parts go to the Provost and one to each of the Senior Fellows.—*Duigenan's Lachrymæ Academicæ*.



Vice-Chancellor, the Provost, (or in his absence the Vice-Provost,) and the Senior Master non-regent, resident in the College. Every grace must pass the Caput before it can be proposed to the rest of the Senate, and each member of the Caput has a negative voice.

The several orders in the College are:—

“1. The Provost, or Head of the College; who must be in holy orders, and a Doctor or a Bachelor in Divinity, and not less than thirty years of age.

“2. Fellows, who are all bound to enter into priest's orders, except three;—one *Medicus*, one *Jurista Juris Civilis*, and one *Jurista Juris Anglici*. They are elected by the board.

“3. NOBLEMEN, SONS OF NOBLEMEN, AND BARONETS, matriculate as such under the title of *Nobilis*, *Filius Nobilis*, *Eques*; Noblemen and Sons of Noblemen are entitled to the degree of Bachelor of Arts, *per specialem gratiam*.

“4. DOCTORS in the three faculties. BACHELORS IN DIVINITY, and MASTERS OF ARTS. All Doctors and Masters of Arts, ex Fellows and ex Scholars, having their names registered as electors, are entitled to vote in the election of members to represent the University in Parliament; but have no collegiate privileges or duties, unless their names are kept on the College books.

“5. BACHELORS IN CIVIL LAW AND PHYSIC, and BACHELORS OF ARTS, are not required to keep their names on the University or College books, in order to entitle them to proceed to the higher degrees.

“6. FELLOW COMMONERS have the privilege of dining at the Fellows' table. The number of term examinations required of them for the degree of A.B. is one less than the number required of Pensioners.

“7. SCHOLARS who are on the foundation, being members of the corporation of the College, have their commons free of expense, and their rooms for half the charge paid by Pensioners, and they pay for tuition half the sum paid by Pensioners; but are exempted from College charges or *decrements*, and receive from the College an annual salary of £18 19s. 3d. They hold their scholarships until they become, or might have become, Masters of Arts; their standing being counted from the time of their elevation to scholarships. The number of scholars is 70, of whom 30 were formerly natives (*Hibernici*), a distinction abolished by King's letter, 8 Geo. IV.

“8. PENSIONERS.—Under this head is included the great body of under-graduates.

"9. **SIZARS** have their commons free of expense, and are exempt from annual fees. They are elected annually by an examination, and are entitled to hold their Sizarships for four years. A student who obtains a Sizarship, having previously acquired standing on the College books as a *Pensioner*, holds his Sizarship only to the end of four years, *reckoning from the June quarter of the Junior Freshman year*: *i. e.* a Junior Freshman, obtaining Sizarship, can hold it for four years; a Senior Freshman for three only; a Junior Sophister for two; and a Senior Sophister for one."

The College payments are made half-yearly.

The following is the table of the half-yearly charges, including tuitions, but exclusive of rooms and commons: \*—

	Entrance, including the first Half-Year.			Half-Year.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Noblemen	60	0	0	30	0	0
Fellow Commoner	30	0	0	15	0	0
Pensioner	15	0	0	7	10	0
Sizar	5	1	3†			

"Terms are kept during the under-graduate course, by answering at the examinations held for the purpose at the beginning of each term; but divinity and medical terms are kept by attendance on the lectures of the professors, and therefore require residence either in the college or in its vicinity.

"To take the degree of *Bachelor of Arts*, the student, if a pensioner, must keep four academic years; *i. e.* he must pass at least eight term examinations, with at least four catechetical terms or examinations.

"The scholastic exercises necessary for the degree of Bachelor of Arts, are two *declamations*—one in Greek and one in Latin; a thesis, also in Latin, *in laudem philosophiæ*; and a disputation founded on three papers, each containing four questions in logic, natural philosophy, and morality, propounded by the moderator, and which are opposed and maintained by each candidate in his turn.

"A *Master of Arts* must be A.B. of three years' standing. The exercises

\* In addition to these charges, the recent Stamp Act imposes a duty of £1 upon the admission or matriculation of any person in the University.

† This charge is scarcely ever made.

are three declamations similar to those read by bachelors—one in Greek the other in Latin; together with one of responsency and one of opponency.

"*A Bachelor in Divinity* must be A.M. of seven years' standing and in priest's orders. Before the private grace of the house can be obtained for this degree the candidate must perform the necessary exercises before the Regius Professor of Divinity or his deputy. These are, one responsency, one opponency, one *Concio ad Clerum* in Latin, and one Sermon in English *ad Populum*.

"*A Doctor in Divinity* must be B.D. of five, or a Master of Arts of twelve years' standing, and in priest's orders. The exercises performed before the Regius Professor of Divinity are, one responsency, one opponency, a sermon *ad Populum* in English, and a Latin sermon *ad Clerum*. When the degrees of B.D. and D.D. are taken together, the exercises for both must be performed.

"*A Bachelor of Laws* must be A.B. of three years' standing before the grace of the House can be obtained, and the candidate must respond and oppose once before the Regius Professor of Laws.

"*A Doctor in Laws* must be LL.B. of five years' standing, or of four if he have already taken the degree of Master of Arts. The exercise consists of two Theses on subjects appointed by the Professor, and two others on any questions in civil and canon law selected by himself.

"*Bachelor in Medicine*.—Candidates for this degree must be Bachelors of Arts and have obtained a testimony from the School of Physic.

"*A Doctor of Medicine* must be M.B. of three years' standing, *provided he shall have graduated in Arts*. No examination is required. A Doctor of Medicine enjoys the same elective privileges as a Master of Arts.

"*A Bachelor in Music* must be matriculated, and must compose a piece of music in five parts, which, if approved of by the board, is to be publicly performed in such place and manner as they shall direct, at the expense of the candidate. The candidate must also produce a certificate, signed by at least two musical persons of celebrity, to prove that he has studied or practised music for seven years.

"*A Doctor in Music* must be Mus. B. of five years' standing, and must compose a piece of music in six or eight parts, which, if approved by the board, must be publicly performed at the expense of the candidate. He must also produce a similar certificate to prove that he has passed five additional years in the study and practice of music.

"The full score of the musical compositions of candidates for degrees in music, legibly and clearly written, must be lodged with the Senior Proctor one month at least before the commencements at which the degree is to be conferred."



The total amount of fees paid for each degree is :—

	£	s.	d.
Artium Baccal.—Nobilis . . . . .	33	0	0
„ Soc. Com. . . . .	17	5	0
„ Pens. . . . .	8	17	0
„ Magister . . . . .	9	16	0
Medicinæ Baccal. . . . .	11	15	0
„ Doctor . . . . .	22	0	0
Mus. Baccal. . . . .	11	15	0
„ Doctor . . . . .	22	0	0
S. Theologiæ Baccal. . . . .	13	0	0
„ Doctor . . . . .	26	0	0

The College prizes, according to Mr. Heron, are, first, those which are conferred by law; and, secondly, those which at present are virtually confined to members of the Established Church; and thirdly, those which are open to free competition without religious distinction.

#### PRIZES CONFERRED BY LAW ON MEMBERS OF THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH.

The Madden Premium averages at present about . . . . .	£200
The Board award in premiums, at each Fellowship examination, about . . . . .	250
The Scholarships are worth, on an average, £80 per annum.* They are 70 in number, equal to . . . . .	5600
Dr. Downe's Divinity Premiums, instituted in 1797 . . . . .	70
To these the Board add . . . . .	30
The Divinity Professors' Premiums . . . . .	30
Archbishop King's Divinity Prizes . . . . .	15
The Elrington Theological Prize . . . . .	30
Five Irish Scholarships were founded in 1842, by the Governor of the Irish College of St. Columba, the average annual value of each of which may be stated to be £30, equal to . . . . .	150
The Committee of the Irish Society (the religious association so called) founded, in 1846, four Scholarships, denominated the Bedell Scholarships, each of the annual value of £20, equal to . . . . .	80
Catechetical Premiums, about . . . . .	110
The Hebrew Premiums given by the Primate . . . . .	100
The Biblical Greek Prize . . . . .	15

Total of Prizes for Students of the Established Church, per ann. £6680

The Fellowship Premiums may now be considered annual, inasmuch as the letter of 3 Victoria, which repealed the clauses of the Charter of 13 Car. I., so far as they enjoined

\* Mr. Heron had not been able to ascertain the salaries of the Professors of Biblical Greek and of the Medical and Engineering Schools.

the celibacy of the Fellows, will require an annual examination for Fellowships after the year 1849.

**PRIZES WHICH ARE LEGALLY OPEN TO STUDENTS OF EVERY RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION, BUT WHICH IN PRACTICE ARE CONFINED TO MEMBERS OF THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH.**

The thirty-one Exhibitions from the Royal Schools of Enniskillen, Dungannon, Armagh, Cavan, and Middleton . . . . .	£1225
Irish Premiums . . . . .	20
Erasmus Smith's Exhibitions. (These are absolutely confined to Scholars and the defeated candidates for Scholarship) . . . . .	250
	<hr/>
	£1495

In 1842 the Board instituted premiums to the amount of £20 per annum, for the encouragement of the Irish language ; but the lectures of the class being opened with prayers according to the service of the Church of England, Catholics do not attend them.

**PRIZES OPEN TO FREE EXHIBITIONS.**

The Premium in books, given at the October examination, averages	£300
The Hebrew Premiums at entrance . . . . .	30
Thirty Sizarships, the average value of each of which is £25 per annum . . . . .	750
The Vice-Chancellor's Prizes for Composition in Prose and Verse . . . . .	70
The Modern History Premiums . . . . .	10
The Political Economy Prizes . . . . .	15
Bishop Law's Mathematical Prizes . . . . .	30
Average expense of the medals at the Degree Examination . . . . .	100
The Lloyd Exhibitions . . . . .	40
	<hr/>
Total of the Prizes open to free competition . . . . .	£1345

The University consists of the following heads or officers :—  
*The Chancellor*.—Ernest Augustus, King of Hanover, elected 1805.

*Vice-Chancellor*.—Lord John George, Archbishop of Armagh, D.D., elected 1829.

*Provost*.—Francis Sadlier, D.D., appointed 1839, income not positively known, but in all likelihood not less than £3000 a year.

*Vice-Provost*.—Charles William Wall, D.D., 1847, income £2000.

Seven Senior and twenty-six Junior Fellows, twenty of the latter are College Tutors, and they are divided into three classes or grades : those of the first grade have £900 a year ; those of the second, £700 a year ; those of the third, £500 a year ; the remaining six Junior Fellows.

Two representatives in Parliament each have about £84 a year.

All Fellows have their commons and chambers free of expense. There are six University Preachers.

A Donnellan Lecturer.

A Regius Professor of Divinity, salary £660 per annum.

—Five Assistant Divinity Lecturers.

Archbishop King's Divinity Lecturer.

—Seven Assistant Lecturers.

Professor of Canon and Civil Law, endowed 1668.

Professorship of Feudal and English Law, founded 1761, salary £700.

Regius Professor of Greek, founded 1761.

Erasmus Smith's Professor of Oratory, founded 1761.

Erasmus Smith's Professor of Natural Philosophy, founded 1724. (These last two Professorships have each an assistant attached to them.)

Erasmus Smith's Professor of Mathematics, founded 1762.

Senior Assistant and Donegal Lectureship.

Erasmus Smith's Professor of Modern History, founded 1762.

An Assistant.

Erasmus Smith's Professor of Hebrew, founded 1762.

Three Assistant Professors.

(All the Professorships already mentioned are held by Fellows.)

Andrew's Professor of Astronomy, founded 1783, salary £250.

Archbishop Whately's Professor of Political Economy, founded 1832, salary £100.

Professor of Moral Philosophy, founded 1837, salary £100.

Professor of Biblical Greek, founded 1838.



Professor of Irish, founded 1840, salary £100

Regius Professor of Physic, founded 1837.

Professor of Anatomy and Surgery, founded 1785.

Professor of Chemistry, founded 1783.

Professor of Botany, founded 1785.

Professor of Geology, founded 1844.

Professor and Assistant Professor of Civil Engineering, founded 1842.

Professor of Mineralogy.

Queen's Professor of Modern Languages, founded 1777, salary £100.

Berkeley Lecturer in Greek, founded 1846.

Four Morning Lectureships. (The Fellows who hold these are the four Fellows last elected, and they lecture the students of each class in the science of the term.) With the exception of the Divinity lectures, attendance on which is compulsory, all these lectures are badly attended.

From the great seat of Protestant education we pass to the principal Roman Catholic one. MAYNOOTH COLLEGE was founded by an Act of the Parliament of Ireland in the year 1795. At first a lay as well as an ecclesiastical education was given in the establishment, but after a few years the lay College was abandoned as a failure, and Maynooth has since that time been exclusively devoted to the education of priests for the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland.

In the session of 1845, Sir Robert Peel drew the attention of Parliament to the state of Maynooth College, and founded upon it one of those large measures of practical liberality by which his public career has repeatedly been made famous. There were at this time 438 students at Maynooth, while the Parliamentary grant was voted for the maintenance of 250, at the moderate rate of £23 each per annum. The 188 not provided for in the Parliamentary grant professed to support themselves, but were seldom able to fulfil their engagements in that respect. A heavy debt was thus incurred, and the trustees, after contending against its pressure without effect, had been driven to

the extreme course of prolonging the vacations unduly, in order to save the expense of keeping the students in the College.

The estimated charge of the College for the financial year ending 31 March, 1843, as given in the Parliamentary Paper (244), 1845, will explain the character and extent of the establishment up to that period.

Subsistence, including commons, coals, candles, furniture, repairs, &c., for 250 students . . . . .	at £23	£5,750
Commons for seventeen masters . . . . .	at £25	425
Commons and allowance for twenty scholars on the Dunboyne Establishment . . . . .	at £55	1,100

Salaries:—	£	s.	d.	
President . . . . .	326	0	0	
Vice-President . . . . .	150	0	0	
Senior Dean . . . . .	122	0	0	
Junior Dean . . . . .	112	0	0	
Second Junior Dean . . . . .	112	0	0	
Prefect of the Dunboyne Establishment . . . . .	142	0	0	
Bursar . . . . .	122	0	0	
Three Professors of Theology . . . . .	at £122	366	0	0
Professor of Sacred Scriptures and Hebrew . . . . .		122	0	0
„ of Mathematics . . . . .		112	0	0
„ of Logic, Metaphysics, and Ethics . . . . .		112	0	0
„ of Rhetoric . . . . .		112	0	0
„ of Humanity . . . . .		112	0	0
„ of English Elocution and French . . . . .		112	0	0
„ of the Irish Language . . . . .		112	0	0
Secretary of the Trustees and Treasurer . . . . .		73	10	0
Physician . . . . .		52	10	0
Apothecary . . . . .		200	0	0
Salaries . . . . .				2,572

Wages:—				
Cook . . . . .		40	0	0
Butler . . . . .		18	12	0
Four Servants . . . . .	at £12 12s.	50	8	0
Twelve ditto . . . . .	at £9 6s.	111	12	0
Eight ditto . . . . .	at £7 6s.	58	8	0
Wages . . . . .				279

10,126

Deduct,—				
Rent of the Dunboyne Estate . . . . .		454	0	0
Fees of Admission from Students . . . . .		744	0	0
Credits . . . . .				1,198
Total unprovided Charge . . . . .				£8,928

For this unprovided charge the legislature now assigned

ample funds. The Act 8 & 9 Vict. c. 25, incorporated the College trustees, and it authorizes them to possess additional property not exceeding the annual value of £3000, the present property to vest in the new trustees; a sum of £6000 a year is to be paid for the future to the trustees, for the salaries of the President, Vice-President, Officers, and Professors, as well as the commons and other necessities to be supplied for their use; the 20 senior students are to receive £40 a year each, so long as the income arising from the bequest of Baron Dunboyne shall be applied for their exclusive benefit; 250 free students in the three senior classes of the College are to receive £20 a year each; in order to provide for the commons, attendance, and other necessities to be supplied to the 20 senior students, to the 250 free students of the three senior classes, and also to 250 free students of the four junior classes, an annual sum of £28 is to be paid to the trustees for each student. The Commissioners of Public Works are to purchase, rent, or provide any houses, buildings, lands, &c., necessary; and to maintain, enlarge, furnish, &c., the College, and any premises or lands agreed for to be conveyed or demised to the trustees. The expense of providing buildings, lands, &c., is not to exceed £30,000. This amount and the several sums payable to the trustees are to be discharged out of the consolidated fund. Accounts of the receipt and expenditure of all such moneys are to be forwarded annually by the trustees to the Lords of the Treasury, and audited as other public accounts are audited. So much of Acts 35 Geo. III. (Ireland), 40 Geo. III. (Ireland), and 48 Geo. III. c. 145 (Local), as give visitorial powers to the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, the Lord Chief Justices, and Chief Baron of the Exchequer in Ireland, is repealed; and the other visitors existing, and five additional persons, appointed by Her Majesty, are to be visitors hereafter. Visitations are to be held once a year, and whenever ordered by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The authority of the visitors generally is not to extend to the exercise of the Roman Catholic religion, and is to be conformable to by-laws, rules, &c., authorized



by Act of Parliament. Visitorial powers in matters of religion are to be exercised by Roman Catholic visitors elected under the 40 Geo. III. (Ireland), and in presence of such of the visitors appointed by Her Majesty as may attend. An officer of the College is to keep minutes of the proceedings of visitors, and of the names of those present. After each visitation a Report of the proceedings is to be made to Her Majesty, signed by two or more of the visitors, and a copy of each report is to be laid before both Houses of Parliament, within six weeks after receipt, or, if not then sitting, within the same time after the next meeting of Parliament.

The improved state of Maynooth, consequent upon the passing of this statute, is fully exhibited in the Annual Report of the Visitors for the year 1847.

The average number of students throughout the year was 515. Their dietary consisted of three meals—breakfast at nine o'clock, of cocoa, bread, and butter; dinner at three o'clock, on days on which meat is allowed according to the discipline of the Roman Catholic Church, of beef or mutton, boiled or roasted, on alternate days; bread and vegetables, including potatoes when they could be procured; the drink at dinner is beer or water, at the choice of the student; and further refreshment at eight o'clock in the evening.

The duties and salaries of the Superiors and Professors appear as follow:—

The Very Rev. L. T. Renehan, D.D., President, has the general superintendence of the College in all its departments, enforcement of statutes and by-laws; salary and allowance . . .	£590
The Rev. Robert Whitehead, Vice-President, has the same duties as the President; salary . . .	322
The Rev. M. Gaffney, D.D., Senior Dean; salary . . .	260
The Rev. W. Lee, D.D., Junior Dean; salary . . .	237
The Rev. John Gunn, Second Junior Dean; salary . . .	237
The three Deans instruct in the practical duties of religion, in the ceremonies of the Church, and in the administration of the sacraments, visit rooms and study halls, and assist at the exercises of religion.	
The Rev. John O'Hanlon, D.D., Librarian and Prefect of the Dunboyne students, with two assistants, has care of the library, and, as Prefect, the charge of attending to the conduct, and of presiding at the conferences, of the Dunboyne students.	

The Rev. T. Farelly, Bursar, attends to the accounts, superintends the servants, and manages the entire expenditure and temporalities of the College; salary . . . . .	£260
The Rev. Edward O'Reilly, Professor of Divinity, First Senior Class . . . . .	260
The Rev. P. A. Murray, D.D., Professor of Divinity, presides over the Second First Senior Class . . . . .	260
The Rev. G. Crolly, Professor of Divinity, Second Senior Class, eight lectures per week in theology, varying in number from 25 to 98 each class; salary . . . . .	260
The Rev. T. Furlong, Professor of Divinity, Third Senior Class, nine lectures in theology per week; salary . . . . .	260
The Rev. J. Dickson, Professor of Scriptures and Hebrew, course three years, embracing the question of the inspiration of the Scripture, the canon of Scripture, the history of the text and versions of the Scriptures; salary . . . . .	260
The Rev. C. W. Russel, D.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History; salary . . . . .	260
The Rev. N. Callan, Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, course of lectures, Wood's Algebra, Darrel's Geometry (so far by way of revision for a class that previously read both), Darrel's Plane and Spherical Trigonometry, and the Cambridge course, by Vince and Wood, of Mathematics, Conic Sections, Astronomy, Hydrostatics, Pneumatics and Optics, together with Electricity, Galvanism, and Electro-Magnetism.	
The Rev. Joseph Behan, Professor of Logic, Metaphysics, and Ethics, lectures, the Lyons Logic, and the work on Metaphysics and Ethics by Rev. Dr. Anglade, formerly a Professor of the College, the Dialectics of the Schoolmen, which is substantially the same as the old Aristotelian Logic, together with the improvements in the works of modern logicians. The Metaphysics comprise all those truths regarding the existence and attributes of the Deity, which reason unaided by Revelation can discover and demonstrate, together with the philosophy of the human mind. In the ethics are explained the elementary principles of moral philosophy; salary . . . . .	237
The Rev. Mr. M'Carthy, Professor of Rhetoric, first class of Greek and Latin, lectures, a course of Rhetoric from Longinus, Quintilian's Institutes, Horace's Art of Poetry, Cicero de Oratore, the Anonymous Dialogue on the Decline of Eloquence illustrated by the speeches of Demosthenes, Sermons of St. Chrysostom with extracts from the Greek Fathers selected by the Professor, Geometry by the Rev. Dr. Darrel, a former Professor of the College.	
The Rev. D. Gargan, Professor of Humanity, second class of Greek and Latin, lectures in Algebra, Wood's Algebra, Greek and Latin. Xenophon, Epictetus, and Homer in Greek; and Livy, Cicero, and Horace in Latin. Greek and Latin compositions every week.	
The Rev. Mathew Kelly, Professor of English Rhetoric, lectures, the Grammar and History of the English Language, Composition and Oratory, the French Language, Jameson's Grammar of Rhetoric, Dionysius; Ecclesiastical Rhetoric, Louis of Granado, Causinus de Fay, Muratori, Cardinal Maury, and St. Francis of Salis; Bossuet's Universal History. French composition . . . . .	237

The Rev. James Tully, Professor of the Irish Language, lectures,  
Grammar, Structure, and Translation of the Irish Language;  
salary . . . . . £237

*The Entrance Course for Students, as printed and published in the Irish Clerical Directory, for the direction of the College Examiners.*

1st. For entrance into the lowest class in the College, the class of Humanity, the candidate must answer satisfactorily in the first and second books of de Bello Gallico of Cæsar's Commentaries; Sallust; Virgil's Eclogues; first, second, third, and fourth books of the Æneid; Horace's Epistles; Cicero's Four Orations against Catiline; Greek Grammar; Gospel of St. John; Lucian's Dialogues, first book; and first, second, and third books of Xenophon's Cyropædia; Murray's Abridgment of the English Grammar; a short system of Geography; Algebra, as far as Quadratic Equations included; and six books of Euclid in Darrel's Geometry.

2nd. For entrance into Rhetoric, besides the foregoing authors, with the portion of mathematical knowledge specified: Cicero's Orations on the Manilian Law, for Archias, Milo, Marcellus, and Ligarius; first, second, and third books of Livy; Odes and Satires of Horace; fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth books of the Æneid; first, third, fourth, and tenth Satires of Juvenal; Greek—Enchiridion of Epictetus; Xenophon's Anabasis, the first and second books; and the first, second, third, and fourth of Homer's Iliad.

3rd. For admission into the Logic Class, besides the foregoing authors and the amount of mathematical knowledge specified: first, second, third, and fourth books of Livy; Cicero's Offices; Virgil's Georgics; first four books of the Æneid; and Horace's Art of Poetry; Greek—fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth books of Homer's Iliad; Demosthenes' Philippics, and de Corôna; Longinus de Sublimitate.

#### *The College Courses.*

First year, all the lectures of the Professor of Humanity in Algebra, and in Greek and Latin Classics; all the lectures of the Professor of English; and also two lectures per week, usually by the Vice-president, on the Catechism and the Historical Books of the Bible.

The second year the prescribed lectures of the Professor of Rhetoric, and those of the Vice-president and Professor of English, as in the preceding year.

Third year, lectures of the Professor of Logic, Metaphysics, and Ethics; of the Professor of French; the Professor of English; and the fourth he devotes to the study of mathematics and natural philosophy, under the Professor of that department, who teaches the course already specified.



The four following years the students attend the lectures of the four Professors of Theology, for one year each; the lectures of the Professor of Scriptures during three years; of the Professor of History the entire time; and of the Professor of Hebrew and Irish during one or two years at discretion. All the students of the College attend at three terms of the year, which occupy in the whole a space of eight weeks; daily lectures on elocution, recitation, and delivery. Every student is required to spend seven hours (in April and May eight) per day at private study, besides the hours at public lectures, which are, during four days, four hours with two lectures on Saturdays; three hours, one lecture on Wednesdays; and three hours on Sundays. They usually devote a good many hours each week to lighter study, over and above the time specified for preparation for their public lectures.

The Number of Students, &c., in each Class, the 20th of April, 1845, April, 1846, and April, 1847, was this:—

	April 20th, 1845.		April 20th, 1846.		April 20th, 1847.	
	Residing.	Sick.	Residing.	Sick.	Residing.	Sick.
Students on Dunboyne Establishment . . . . .	14	—	19	—	20	—
1st Division of 1st Senior Class . . . . .	7	—	24	—	25	—
2nd Division of 1st Senior Class . . . . .	62	—	68	—	58	—
2nd Senior Class . . . . .	68	—	64	1	98	—
3rd Senior Class . . . . .	68	—	96	1	70	—
Class of Mathematical and Natural Philosophy . . . . .	72	4	69	2	82	2
Class of Logic, Metaphysics, and Ethics . . . . .	72	2	74	6	64	1
Class of Rhetoric, studying also Geometry . . . . .	39	3	52	—	62	1
Class of Greek and Latin Classics, reading also Algebra . . . . .	26	—	46	—	41	1
Total . . . . .	428	9	512	10	520	5

The students of every class, besides being interrogated four, five, or six times a year, according to the extent of the class, during lecture hours, are subjected to public examinations, one in January and another in June; in the latter of which they are rigorously examined in the entire course of the academical year: the more distinguished of them are selected to write compositions on certain questions or subjects chosen by their respective professors. A premium is adjudged to the best composition in each department. The prize essay in the Dunboyne class, which is composed in English, and on some important point of Catholic doctrine, and to the best compositions in Greek, in Latin, in French, English, and

Irish, are read by the composers in presence of the Trustees and the whole College community.

A few of the beneficial results from the late provision of Parliament for Maynooth College are stated :—1st. The students receiving the enlarged education on the Dunboyne establishment, who had hitherto rarely amounted to fourteen, and many of whom were frequently called home before the expiration of the second year of their studies, on account of the scarcity of priests in their respective dioceses, have kept up their full number this year and the last, and will be most likely to remain in the College to the completion of their course.

Their allowances have been raised from £20 to £62.

The number of free places on the establishment has been increased from 250 to 500 ; and while upwards of 200 students are there relieved from the burthen of providing support and education in the College at their own expense, 250 belonging to the senior class receive £20 per annum each to meet the contingent expenses to which they are liable.

This increase of free places in the College has enabled the Trustees to prolong the collegiate course of studies, from one of six years, which was frequently not completed, to an established course of eight years, as a general rule ; and it has enabled the bishops to permit their respective candidates to read every part of the prescribed course ; while hitherto the want of priests for the discharge of parochial duties obliged them to curtail their studies in the College, by requiring them to pass over Rhetoric or Natural Philosophy, or both, and sometimes even a portion of their usual Theological studies.

The increase of free places has also induced the College Examiners to insist rigorously on the full qualifications required in candidates for their admission, and by thus obliging the students to know a due portion of Algebra and Geometry before they enter the class of Natural Philosophy, they enable them to have a more accurate and extensive knowledge of that branch of science.

Such is Maynooth College at present, and, should it be supported as it deserves to be, an institution worthy of the number and wealth of the Roman Catholics of Ireland will soon be seen to flourish. Up to the present time, it must be confessed that a singular unwillingness has been evinced by the great body of that community to strengthen or support the establishment. No Roman Catholic, with the exception of Lord Dunboyne, has made it the object of his benevolence. The Roman Catholic bishops and priests, however, do not appear to have been insensible to the benefits of education, or

ungenerous in their bequests for its extension. But these have uniformly been given to private institutions, of which there are five—all founded and patronized by Roman Catholic bishops. They are—St. Patrick's College, Carlow; St. Patrick's College, Armagh; St. Kyran's College, Kilkenny; St. Patrick's College, Thurles; St. Jarlath's College, Tuam.

None of these establishments have as yet been remarkable for the number of their scholars or the merits of their educational course. A short description of one, St. Kyran's, Kilkenny, will suffice for all.

St. Kyran's College, Kilkenny, was founded for the education of Roman Catholics, and is divided into two departments—one ecclesiastical, the other lay.

Into the ecclesiastical house none are admitted but candidates for the priesthood. The number of students in that house was fifty-two in the year 1844, and that was all the size of the building would accommodate.

The Lay College is intended for the education of boys of every class, no matter what their future avocations in life may be: it would easily accommodate fifty boarders. In 1844 the number of boarders was sixteen, and the number of day-scholars about fifty.

The houses are both supported by the students. The young men in the ecclesiastical house pay twenty-one pounds per annum; the lay-boarders pay twenty-six guineas per annum; the day-scholars in the lay-school pay £4 14s. per annum.—There are a few bourses (perhaps three in all) founded in the College for the education of students for the priesthood. The nomination of subjects to the benefit of those bourses rests with the founders (who are priests) during their lives, but afterwards the Bishop and President of the College have the appointments.—The daily dietary is, for breakfast, bread and new milk, or stirabout. In the seasons of Lent, Advent, and on all fast-days, young men who have arrived at the age of twenty-one take cocoa for breakfast. At dinner, they get beef and mutton alternately—some days roast, some boiled.



On fasting-days they get fish, eggs, and butter for dinner. The supper is bread and milk.

In the Lay College a long course is read of Greek, Latin, and French classics.

The Greek authors are Longinus, the Orations of Demosthenes, Homer, Xenophon's *Anabasis* and *Cyropedia*, Epictetus, Lucian, St. John's Gospel.

In Latin, after grammar and the small book of sentences, they read Cæsar, three books, on the Gallic War; Sallust, the entire; Cicero's Orations, against Catiline, for Milo, Archias, Ligarius, Marcellus, and the Manilian Law; Livy, five books; Tacitus, six books of the *Annals*; Cicero's *Offices*, the entire; Virgil, the entire; Horace, the entire; Juvenal, select *Satires*.

The boys in the lay house likewise learn mensuration, geometry (Davies'), Algebra (Bonnycastle's), and Joyce's *Dialogues* on the various branches of Natural Philosophy.

In the ecclesiastical house the young men spend six years: devoting the first year to logic, metaphysics, and ethics; the second year to mathematics, the Cambridge course furnishing the class-books; four years are devoted to a course of divinity—the treatises read are Collet's and Delahogue's. During the six entire years the students attend two Scripture lectures each week.

In philosophy and theology there are two lectures each day, and the hours of study are eight hours each day.

One other Roman Catholic College demands a short notice—the Jesuits' College, at Clongowes Wood. This is the only institution, founded and conducted by priests for the education of youth, which can be described as decidedly successful. Here the well-established reputation of the Jesuits, as teachers, has not failed to produce the usual flourishing results. Clongowes Wood is well supported, the number of students exceeding 200; and the courses taught there, in science and in letters, are worthy of the character of its founders.

The Belfast Academical Institution is supported chiefly by the Presbyterians of Ulster, and possesses much of the cha-

rafter of a university. In the year 1809, the inconvenience of the custom, which had long prevailed amongst the middle classes in the north of Ireland, of sending their children to the Scotch Universities, led to a general movement for the establishment of a suitable local establishment. A sum of £30,000 having been raised for the purpose, of which the Marquis of Hastings contributed £5000, an Act of Incorporation was obtained in the year 1810, by which subscribers of 100 guineas are entitled to nominate each one boy to be educated free of expense, and subscribers of £22 10s. are constituted proprietors, with power to elect a Board of Management, and to make by-laws. The Rules, Regulations or By-laws, made since the Act of Incorporation, together with the income and expenditure for the seven preceding years, are to be found in the Parliamentary Paper (278) 1843. By this it appears that the Royal Belfast Academical Institution is conducted by a Board, denominated the "Board of Managers," which consists of a President, four Vice-presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and twenty Managers. The President is elected for one year, or any longer time, by a General Board of Proprietors. The Vice-presidents and Managers are elected by the same Board, to continue in office, after the first election, during four years. The Secretary and Treasurer are annually elected. There are eight Visitors and three Auditors.

A general meeting of Proprietors is held annually, in July, to elect officers, to fill up vacancies, receive the report of the Managers, and transact such other business as may be then laid before them. At this meeting the votes are taken by ballot; and all by-laws, made, altered, or repealed, are required to have been inserted in the Belfast newspapers at least thirty days previously.

The Secretary calls a special Board of Proprietors, on the requisition of fifteen Proprietors.

The Managers superintend the political economy of the Institution, under which are comprehended the finances and buildings, with all arrangements relating thereto; they engage

suitable Masters, Professors, Librarian and Assistants, and remove them when they see cause ; they regulate admission to the Lectures, Library, and Museum, and preserve order throughout the Institution.

Accounts are kept, audited, and laid before the general meeting, with a detailed report of the actual state of the Institution, at the annual meeting in July.

The Board of Managers and Board of Visitors, when summoned for that especial purpose, form a joint Board, with authority to make rules for the establishment and regulation of the College and Schools : these rules prescribe the number of professorships convenient or necessary at particular periods ; the departments of science which shall be taught, or in which lectures shall be delivered ; the number of schools, and the mode of conducting them ; the authority to be exercised by the Professors and Masters, in order to insure the attention and expedite the progress of the pupils ; the manner in which students shall receive testimonials of proficiency in their several studies, so as to secure the public confidence ; and, finally, the regulations best adapted for a seminary, the object of which is to infuse the best moral habits, together with a love for literary acquirements. These rules are enforced after having received the approval of a General Board of Proprietors.

There is a Board, called the Board of the Faculty of Arts, to regulate the course and hours of studies to be pursued, and to direct the formation of new classes, when necessary, with the concurrence of the joint Boards of Managers and Visitors, the time and order of public examinations, and finally, to adjudge premiums, sign the testimonials given to students at the close of the collegiate course, and to enforce discipline by fines and punishments as they may deem proper.

The Board meets in the Institution once a week during the college session. Any difference of opinion in the Board of Faculty, which cannot be amicably settled, is referred to the joint Boards of Managers and Visitors.

The Board consists of all the Professors in the Literary and



Philosophical department of the College, elected by the joint Boards of Managers and Visitors.

The following declaration is subscribed by every Professor:—

“ I, A. B., hereby solemnly promise and engage, that, during my continuance in office as a Professor in the Literary and Philosophical department of the Royal Belfast Academical Institution, I will not exercise any power or privilege, nor discharge any duty devolving on me by virtue of my said office, in such a manner as to interfere directly or indirectly with the religious faith of any pupil or student, of whatever denomination, who may be in attendance in any department of the Royal Belfast Academical Institution.”

The Institution is supported by a Parliamentary grant of £2000 a year ; and this sum, with the exception of occasional subscriptions, constitutes its income, nearly the whole of which is paid away for the salaries of professors.

The following was the establishment for the year 1848:—

### Marquis of Donegall, President.

#### LITERARY AND MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.

##### *Literary Department.*

J. W. Moffett, LL.B., Logic and Belles Lettres.	Rev. T. D. Hincks, LL.D., Oriental Languages.
Rev. J. Ferrie, Moral Philosophy.	Rev. Wm. Bruce, Greek and Latin.
John Stevelly, LL.D., Natural Philosophy.	Charles J. Beatty, Elocution.
J. R. Young, Mathematics.	T. Feenachty, Irish.

##### *Medical Department.*

Dr. J. L. Drummond, Anatomy and Medical Physiology.	and Pharmacy.
Dr. Hodges, Chemistry.	Dr. Alexander Gordon, Surgery.
Dr. Wm. Burden, Midwifery, and Diseases of Women and Children.	Dr. S. Mateer, Medical Botany.
Dr. J. D. Marshall, Materia Medica	Dr. Henry M'Cormac, Theory and Practice of Physic.

#### SCHOOL DEPARTMENT.

Thomas Blain, English.	Joseph Molloy, Drawing.
T. B. Moffett, LL.B., Classics.	C. Forneri, Italian and Spanish.
Rev. Isaiah Steen, Mathematical and Mercantile School.	Auguste Charles Ballier, French.
Patrick Johnston, Writing.	* * * College Term begins November 1, and ends April 30.

The education of ministers for the Presbyterian Church is more especially provided\* by an establishment which acts in concert with the Institution, and is called the General Assembly's College. The eight Theological Professors attached to it receive from Government an allowance of £2000 a year. The appointments for the year 1849 stood thus :—

President of Faculty—Rev. H. Cooke, D.D., LL.D.	—Rev. Robert Wilson.
Secretary of Faculty—Rev. Professor Wilson.	Biblical Greek—Mr. E. Masson.
Systematic Divinity—Rev. Samuel Hanna, D.D.; Rev. John Edgar, D.D.	Ecclesiastical Latin—Mr. E. Masson.
Ecclesiastical History and Pastoral Theology—Rev. W. D. Killen, D.D.	Oriental Languages—Rev. James Murphy, LL.D.
Sacred Criticism and Interpretation	Moral Philosophy—Rev. William Gibson.
	Sacred Rhetoric—Rev. H. Cooke, D.D., LL.D.

The Classes in this College open on the 1st of November, and close the last week in April.

Having thus passed in review the several educational establishments of Ireland, a brief summary of their tendency and

\* When the Presbyterians were excluded from offices of honour and emolument in Trinity College, Dublin, and when their students had no longer the inducements to attend the National University, a philosophical and theological seminary under the sanction of the Presbyterian church was established at Antrim. This happened in the reign of Charles II. John Howe, then domestic chaplain to the Massarene family, and the Rev. Thomas Gowan, the Presbyterian minister of the parish, presided over this institution. Mr. Gowan, who died in 1683, left behind him two Latin works on logic. The Rev. John Hutchison subsequently taught philosophy for several years at Newtonards. About the commencement of the last century, many candidates for the Presbyterian ministry received their philosophical education at Killileagh, from the Rev. James Macalpine; and it is a curious fact that Mr. Macalpine taught his students by licence from the chancellor of the diocese, under the seal of the Bishop's Court. At the same time, the Rev. John M'Bride, of Belfast, acted as Professor of Divinity for the Irish Presbyterian Church. Presbyterianism had ere this been re-established in Scotland, and students now occasionally repaired to Glasgow for Collegiate instruction. Still, however, the Irish church was disposed to encourage a home education. Towards the end of the last century, the Rev. Wm. Crawford conducted a seminary at Strabane, for the education of theological students.

capabilities united will lead us appropriately enough to those points of extension and improvement to which such a condition of things will naturally lead.

We have in direct connection with and under the immediate management of the Established Church the following institutions, chartered to a certain extent for public objects.

	Estate in Acres.	Annual Income.
Trinity College, Dublin . . .	251,000	£70,048
Royal Schools . . . . .	11,343	6,470
Erasmus Smith's Schools . . .	7,953	7,584
Charter Schools . . . . .		7,361
Diocesan Schools . . . . .		
Blue Coat Schools . . . . .	*2,000	*6,308
Kildare Street Society . . . .		2,455
Church Education Society . . .		40,410

In connection with the Presbyterian Church—The Belfast  
Academical Institution . . . . . £ 2,000

In connection with the Roman Catholic Church—Maynooth  
College . . . . . 26,500

In connection with no particular Church, but equally open to  
persons of different creeds:—

The National Schools . . . . . 120,000

The Provincial Colleges . . . . . 21,000

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141,000

With this large amount of money, contributed in the main from public sources for the purpose of education, no light feeling of surprise will be entertained by those who examine the official returns, and see in them how small is the number of the educated persons in Ireland.

The official statistics of the progress of education, amongst

\* These figures neither show the total number of acres nor the total amount of income, there being no Parliamentary or other public information available for the purpose. What is here shown, therefore, is to be taken as so far certain—but as less than the real amount in some instances.



the whole of the population receiving instruction in public schools, give the following as the numbers on the rolls of the schools ; or in actual attendance.

Census Return	.	.	.	1821	394,813
Commissioners of Education	.	.	.	1824	509,150
Commissioners of Public Instruction	.	.	.	1834	681,000
Census Return	.	.	.	1841	502,950

**TOTAL NUMBER OF THE EDUCATED AND UNEDUCATED,  
CENSUS RETURN, 1841.**

Provinces.	Persons Five Years old and upwards,					
	Who can Read and Write.		Who can Read only.		Who can neither Read nor Write.	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
Leinster	362,746	231,351	153,622	226,166	328,467	437,586
Munster	367,722	185,018	121,129	150,010	541,981	724,852
Ulster	412,697	205,945	237,687	382,127	358,659	489,058
Connaught	144,894	55,783	71,496	71,140	394,749	490,714
Ireland	1,288,059	678,097	583,934	829,443	1,623,856	2,142,210

It thus appears, that in a population exceeding eight millions of persons, the number of those who can read and write is less than two millions. If we connect with this fact and weigh for a moment the amount of money applicable, as already shown, to this best of uses, it will be impossible to resist the conviction that there is by no means such a judicious and effective distribution of our resources as the circumstances of the case imperatively demand and would easily admit of.

The question then arises, How is improvement to be effected and with what degrees of advantage, convenience, and impartiality? In considering this matter, it will in the first place be material to note that every step recently taken in the proposed direction seems to have been dictated by a sense of the extreme policy, if not the abstract justice of disturbing existing interests as little as possible. Sir R. Peel's conduct in this respect deserves particular attention, and the more so

because his career as a statesman has been in nothing more eminently distinguished than by the fulness and efficiency of his Irish measures. Now it is to be attentively noted, that Sir Robert when providing for the extension of education in Ireland, took nothing away—neither funds nor patronage—from established institutions. When he remodelled Maynooth and founded the Provincial Colleges, he supplied palpable deficiencies; but he diverted to that good end no property whatever from the particular uses to which it had previously been devoted. The wisdom of this conduct is conspicuously clear; and as the example has been so successful, it will in all probability be followed with careful respect by all future legislators upon the subject.

We may then, perhaps, lay it down as a sound rule to follow, that existing institutions and their uses are to be preserved, and that the great object to be kept in view is to give full activity to their powers. Hence, wherever we find funds administered with a particular intent and interest, it will be prudent to allow that interest to be still promoted. On this principle, our business will lie not in a change of destination, but in an ample and efficient administration of our educational institutions. According to this plan, Trinity College and the Endowed Protestant Schools would continue to be managed and directed by members of the Established Church. There may be, and there probably is, nothing in the Charters under which either the college or these schools derive their rights which would justify their maintenance as exclusively Protestant Establishments. The funds by which they are supported have unquestionably been contributed by the nation at large, and not by a particular section of it; but their application has so long been confided to the hands of Protestants, and turned to the propagation of their religious tenets, that the force of continuous habit, if not the strict authority of law, has given their rights a prescriptive direction, which cannot be lightly diverted or safely extinguished.

But on the other hand, if the State upon general grounds

of policy is content to allow these rights and powers to be continued to the actual possessors and their successors, it is bound to see that the utmost extent of benefit shall be secured to the public, for which such an arrangement offers facilities. In order to make this plan work satisfactorily and efficiently there should be no reserved or secret administration, either of the university or the endowed schools. The property of both should be publicly accounted for, and an open system of management adopted in each, on which the force of public opinion ought to be brought to bear continuously. There is no other peaceful guarantee against abuses and corruption. The possession of 231,000 acres of estate by Trinity College—producing no one can tell how much, and divided amongst a few individuals after the expenses of the establishment have been provided for—is so extreme a departure from propriety as to constitute a national disgrace. The salary of £1000 a year to the master of Enniskillen School, in addition to a further sum of several hundred pounds a year paid him by his boarders, for superintending the education of ninety-three boys, is another piece of extravagance which could not have been committed under a responsible system of management. So far there are two obvious improvements to be easily effected. First: the Crown should be called upon to reconstitute Trinity College, and to place the administration of its ample funds fairly under the control of those who have acquired, by successful study and university honours, the most legitimate title to regulate and control them. Secondly: the separate establishments for managing the Royal, Charter and Diocesan Schools, together with the schools of Erasmus Smith and the Blue Coat Schools, should be superseded by one general administration of the whole, conducted by paid commissioners, rendering annual reports and accounts to Parliament. The amount of money that would be saved, and the extent of improvement that would be effected by such a change, would assuredly be considerable and of the best kind.



The insufficiency of the University of Dublin for the national requirements having been so apparent for many years, the wonder is that no effort has been made to supply an obvious and important defect. When Sir J. Perrot addressed himself to the subject, he proposed "to begin the foundation of two universities, and to endow a couple of colleges in them with £1000 per annum a-piece." Two universities would have been Sir J. Perrot's beginning, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; 265 years have since elapsed; and we have in the reign of Queen Victoria but one university in Ireland. Even Cromwell's soldiers, rude as they were, made an effort to obtain a second university, for which they bought Archbishop Usher's library, afterwards given to Trinity College. The Act of Settlement recognised the same necessity, for it provided that £2000 a year from the forfeited estates should be set aside for this object. If this was the sense of our ancestors at a period so remote, it surely cannot be too much to press for the fulfilment of their designs at the present day.

A second university is demanded upon other grounds. Trinity College satisfies the wants of the Protestant portion of the population, but it is not resorted to by Roman Catholics nor by Presbyterians in any extent proportioned to the numbers or the wealth of the one or the other. The Presbyterians do not affect to conceal their repugnance to Trinity College, and their determination not to travel beyond their own academy at Belfast, while debarred in the former place of their fair share of its emoluments and honours. The Roman Catholics do not scruple to enter Trinity College; but so few of them, comparatively speaking, appear to have been educated there, as to make it clear that the establishment is not regarded by persons of that persuasion with confidence or affection.\* In short Trinity College is a Protes-

\* Mr. Heron sought, but was not allowed by the College Board, to obtain a list of the number of Roman Catholics who entered the University since the year 1794. He is of opinion, however, that fifteen per annum would be a fair average of those who took their degrees—which, down to 1829, thirty-four years, would be 510. The House of Lords, in

tant and not a national institution. Protestant then let it remain; but let the other persuasions of the people have a national university, open to all religious opinions but preferring none. The educational column would then stand a stately and complete structure. In the national schools we have the base, in the provincial colleges the shaft—in the new university we await the capital that is to crown and perfect the whole.

the session of 1845, ordered, on the motion of Lord Strangford, a return of the numbers who matriculated from 1829 to 1844, both years inclusive; the number amounted to 511, made up as follows:—

Year.	Catholics.	Protestants.	Total.
1829	31	366	397
1830	40	387	427
1831	43	400	443
1832	38	400	438
1833	30	416	446
1834	39	371	410
1835	20	321	341
1836	36	330	366
1837	30	310	340
1838	39	319	358
1839	30	330	360
1840	33	390	423
1841	31	323	354
1842	23	352	375
1843	25	349	374
1844	23	373	396
Total	511	5737	6248

Of this total Mr. Heron calculates that 450 took their degrees, which would make 960—the number of Roman Catholics who have availed themselves of Trinity College as a place of education, since it was thrown open to persons of their religion in the year 1794. At present about thirty is the number, according to Mr. Heron, of Roman Catholics who enter Trinity College every year.

## CHAPTER XIX.

## TRADE, MANUFACTURES, AND COMMERCE.

COMMERCE OF THE ANCIENT IRISH NEVER CONSIDERABLE.—THE EARLY LAWS OF THE ENGLISH PARLIAMENT PLACED THE NAVIGATION AND COMMERCE OF THE TWO COUNTRIES UPON AN EQUAL FOOTING.—THE TRADE AND MANUFACTURES OF IRELAND INJURIOUSLY INTERFERED WITH IN THE REIGN OF CHARLES II., AND AFTERWARDS ALL EXTINGUISHED.—PARTICULARS OF THE FIRST MANUFACTURES.—WOOLLEN, LINEN, STEAM ENGINES, &C.—IMPROVEMENT SINCE THE UNION.—STATISTICS OF SHIPPING, CUSTOMS, REVENUE.—GENERAL SUGGESTIONS.

OUR accounts of the trade, manufactures, and commerce of Ireland are few, diffuse, and unexciting. All the statistics relating to them lie scattered in various directions, and are spread in fragments over distant intervals of time, suggesting the idea of a number of loose and interrupted efforts, where the growth and progression of a regular chain of events might be expected to exist.

Whatever of trade, manufactures, or commerce may have prevailed in the country anterior to the English invasion seems to have been sufficiently described in a few words by Charles O'Connor, who says ("Dissertations on the History of Ireland," p. 116):

"The commerce of this people was never considerable. The wealth of the nation consisted chiefly in their numerous herds, and the produce of their own labour: it was real and inexhaustible wealth. The progress of industry produced superfluities, and these they bartered for the commodities of the northern countries—of Gaul in particular, the wealthiest of all."

To confirm this view of the case, O'Connor quotes the well-known passage of Tacitus (Vit. Agric.):—"Aditus, portusque



*Hiberniæ per commercia et negotiatores melius cogniti;*”—a testimony, no doubt, of the highest authority. Admitting, therefore, that Ireland was better known by its accessible ports and merchants to the ancient world than England, we are thrown back at once upon the subject of this, as of every other matter connected with the ancient state of Ireland, into that state of utter perplexity, that irritating admixture of certainty and doubt which is invariably produced by the discovery of a positive fact, full of significant import, but succeeded immediately by a chasm in which all is void and darkness. For whatever may have been the extent to which a knowledge of the Irish ports and merchants may have proceeded in the time of Agricola, we are left without records or details to show what were the manufactures or what the points with which this commerce was carried on. Beyond the one broad inference to be drawn, as already mentioned (Vol. I. pp. 70 and 71), there is nothing to be suggested:—a people clothed, as foreign writers concur in describing the ancient Irish to have been, must either have had manufactures of their own or have imported them from other nations.

Anderson, in his “History of Commerce,” appears to have been the first writer of note who pointed out that there is nothing to be found in the statutes of either country which in any manner limited the trade of Ireland before the reign of Charles II. Up to that period the Irish merchants and manufacturers were free and unrestricted in their pursuits. There are many Acts of Parliament to be cited in support of this observation. In the reign of Edward I. an Act passed, “giving leave for all kinds of merchandise to be exported from Ireland, except to the King’s enemies.” This was in the year 1289, when there were Irish commodities which must have interfered with corresponding goods of English produce—for instance, wool and leather. In the reign of Edward III. A. D. 1360, an Act was passed, under which all kinds of merchandise, without any exception, were “to be exported from and into Ireland as well by aliens as denizens.” A subsequent Act provided “that all persons who have lands and possessions in

Ireland might freely import thither, and also export from their own kingdom, their own commodities." Another Act was passed in the last year of this reign which favoured the woollen trade of Ireland in an especial manner, declaring "that no subsidy, nor aulnage duty, should be paid on cloth called frieze, which be made in England or in Ireland, of Irish wool, because those cloths did not contain the length or breadth ordained by the Statute." There is then no reason to question the equality of the terms upon which the commerce of the two countries was regulated at this early period; nor the reputation of the woollen manufacture of Ireland during the reign of Edward III. The principal fabrics made in this staple appear to have been a frieze cloth and serge. The frieze was worked into a mantle or coverlet, called by the Irish a Cadow. Dublin, Cork, Waterford, Ross, Drogheda, Trim, and Kilkenny were towns noted for this manufacture: it was exported to England duty free, and in some quantities to Italy. We are told that the Pope's agent obtained a licence from Richard II. for exporting Irish mantles duty free; and, in the year 1382, five mantles of Irish cloth were sent to Rome as a present to his Holiness.

But there is even more direct evidence to show that, at this period, a common regard was paid to the manufacturing interests of the two countries. Complaints were made by the merchants of London, in the year 1463, of the injury done to their trade by the increased importation of foreign manufactured wares, and the Government agreed to take measures for affording relief as suggested; but, in so doing, care was taken that the manufactures of Ireland should not be treated as foreign: they are specially mentioned as being exempt from the tax put upon goods coming from abroad.

Proceeding on to the next century, we meet with an Act passed in the first year of the reign of Henry VII. which provides that no Gascoin or Guien wine be brought in but by English, Irish, and Welshmen. In the fourth year of the same reign there is an Act, ordaining that no person bring into the realm of Ireland, &c., any manner of wines, or Tho-

louse wood, but in ships owned by the King, or his subjects in England, Ireland, &c. Lastly, it may be mentioned, as completing the chain of proofs upon this point, that the Act 3 James I. for free trade to Spain, Portugal, and France, included Ireland by name.

Pierce, eighth Earl of Ormond, a man highly commended by Stanihurst, Lodge, and other writers, and commemorated in the last chapter as the founder of Kilkenny College, appears to have been the first person of rank in Ireland who made liberal exertions to promote the arts and manufactures of his native country. He brought over from Flanders a body of artificers, who set the people an irresistible example of industry, by working in diaper, tapestry, and cushions. Specimens of some of these fabrics were to be seen a few years back in the castles of Kilkenny and Carrick-on-Suir. To the eighth Earl of Ormond those towns owed that connexion with manufactures which they have not ceased to retain, though to a limited extent, down to the present day.

This first beginning was improved, during the reign of James I., by the arrival of a colony of artificers from the Palatinate of Germany, whence the distinctive name of their race as Palatines in Ireland. These men were located at Carrick-on-Suir. Thence spreading to the adjoining towns of Waterford and Clonmel, and having been succeeded by others of their countrymen, they created a woollen trade which for a long time afforded extensive employment, and gave rise to an export trade which has been highly spoken of by many writers.

The reigns of Charles I. and II. furnish some curious incidents in the history of Irish trade and manufactures. When Charles I. went to war with Spain and Portugal he referred to the commercial resources of Ireland, in a proclamation of the year 1627, saying, "That the kingdom of Ireland, by reason of the peace and plenty it has of late enjoyed, is so stored with profitable commodities and merchandises that they have not only enough for their own use but for exportation." And so, by a truly royal piece of reasoning, the Irish were forbidden to export.



The well-known labours of the Earl of Strafford, and afterwards of the Duke of Ormonde, to found and extend manufactures, fall next in the order of commemoration. Carte, in his life of the Duke, gives the fullest account of the industrial avocations of these noblemen. Strafford was of opinion that linen could be made in Ireland twenty per cent. cheaper than in Holland or France. Animated by this belief, he embarked £30,000 in the trade, importing flax seed, which, when sown, took well, and bringing over competent workmen. Spinners and looms were set to work, and perhaps, had Strafford continued chief governor, and the country remained tranquil, the immediate results might have been as beneficial as they were laudable. No immediate good, however, was produced by the speculation.

The Duke of Ormonde was to the full as liberal in spending money upon this project as his predecessor had been. He sent men to be taught the several modes of dressing flax in the Netherlands, of weaving the thread when spun, and bleaching the cloth. As many as 500 families came to him from Brabant, together with others from Rochelle and the Isle of Rhe. For these he built houses at Chapelizod,\* in the county of Dublin, and at Carrick-on-Suir; but, singularly enough, although the linen trade afterwards became not only naturalised, but is now the staple manufacture of the country, not a remnant of its existence is to be traced in the places where it was originally set up.

It is, also, in the reigns of Charles I. and II. that we obtain such an insight into the state of trade in Ireland as will enable us to form something like a distinct idea of its nature and extent; and, certainly, the facts thus disclosed exhibit a condition of things, out of which no considerable prosperity could have arisen. One of the graces promised and paid for, but never granted, by Charles I., to the united Roman Catholics

\* The generality of writers represent the settlement of Chapelizod as if it was a patriotic enterprise undertaken by the Duke at his own expense; but Lawrence, who was in his employment, mentions it ("Interest of Ireland," Part II. p. 189) as "a public manufacture on the King's account."

and Protestants, stipulated for the abolition of monopolies in trade. These had been carried to an extreme which constituted grievous abuse and oppression. The remonstrance of the Irish Commons against Lord Strafford's administration dwelt strongly upon the general decay of trade, and the universal increase of monopolies. Amongst the seventeen heads of grievances voted by the Irish Parliament, and transmitted to England in the year 1640, the sixth complains that trade is decayed by illegal taxes, as twelpence a-piece on hides; and the ninth complains of monopolies of tobacco, tobacco-pipes, starch, soap, &c. Lodge, in his Peerage, illustrates the monopolies of this period, by quoting a licence granted in the year 1629 to Lord Dillon, son of the first Earl of Roscommon, and to Michael, second son of Lord Folliott:—"to keep taverns and sell all manner of wholesome wines, and to make and sell aqua vitæ by retail or in gross in the town of Ballyshannon." While such privileges were granted trade and commerce, in the true sense of the words, were not maintainable. There is, therefore, every room to believe that the wealth of the country was no other, at this period, than agricultural, or rather pastoral. An additional proof of this is furnished in the case of one of the peers just mentioned. When the rebellion of 1641 broke out Lord Dillon's property was seized and destroyed, and it consisted of 2500 sheep and 200 head of cattle. So, too, when during the same struggle, Lord Moore's castle of Mellifont was taken by Macmahon, the property carried away, and valued at £2000, was principally cattle.

From the year 1641 to the year 1648, the country was ravaged by incessant wars to the complete interruption of trade; but, in the reign of Charles II., according to Leland, "the customs amounted to almost four times their former sum, and the commodities exported from Ireland were twice as much in value as the foreign merchandize imported, and shipping was found to have increased even a hundred-fold."

Two cotemporary writers, Sir W. Petty and Colonel Lawrence, may here be referred to with advantage. Sir William says:—

“The expense of the whole people of Ireland is about four millions *per annum*, the fiftieth part whereof being £80,000, and the quarter of annual house-rent being about £60,000, together with £45,000 more, being the value of half-a-year’s rent, tithes, and quit-rent, do make £590,000 as that sum of money which will completely drive the trade of this kingdom.”

“The value of the commodities exported out of Ireland, and the freight of the shipping employed in the trade of this nation, together with the fishing of herrings, is about five hundred thousand pounds *per annum*.”

\* \* \* \* \*

“The clothing trade is not arrived to what it was before the late rebellion; and the art of making the excellent thick, spungy, warm coverlets seems to be lost.”

\* \* \* \* \*

“The clothing is a narrow sort of frieze of about twenty inches broad, whereof two foot, called a bundle, is worth from 3½*d.* to 18*d.* Of this seventeen bundles make a man’s suit, and twelve make a cloak. According to which measures and proportions, and the number of people who wear this stuff, it seems that near thrice as much wool is spent in Ireland as exported; whereas others have thought quite contrary—that is, that the exported wool is triple in quantity to what is spent at home.”

Lawrence has the following passages, “Interest of Ireland,” Part II. pp. 188, 189:—

“Thus all interest being determined by the Act of Settlement, and thereby all humours composed, each party and every person bent their minds and industry to defend their titles to what the said Act gave them a pretence unto in the Court of Claims; where such a brisk trade was driven in purchasing and prosecuting titles to land, no other trade or manufactures were thought on, the bulk of the cash of the kingdom being swallowed up in that gulph.

“Yet in that time the Duke (of Ormond) considering land in Ireland would little differ from land in America, without inhabitants to plant and improve it, was very inquisitive after the intrigue (*sic*) of trade and manufacture, if he met with any persons that he apprehended were acquainted with those affairs; and in May, 1664, gave a commission to a Council of Trade, with full and large instructions for them to govern their proceedings by, which are printed in my preface, and most persons of quality having by that time gained possession of great scopes of land, in several of their lots they found old ruined towns; and discerning no other way to get them planted, grew eager of manufactures, to whom the Lord Lieutenant gave all possible encouragement, that within a few years after we had erected by private persons, on their own account, many considerable manufactures.



“In Leinster. Alderman Daniel Hutchinson at Athy; Earl of Arran at Tullagh; Lord Chancellor Eustace at Baltinglass; Esquire Parsons at the Birr; the public manufacture at Chappelizod on the king’s account, besides several other lesser attempts.

“In Munster. The Earl of Orrery at Charlevil; several Dutch merchants at Limerick and Clare; Baron Hartstongue at the Bruff.

“Besides very considerable addition of cloth, bays, stuffs, and stockings, at Cork and Bandon, &c.

“In Connaught. The Lord Kingston at Abby Boyle; Sir James Cuffe at—(a blank in the original).

“Some time after, the Duke, on his particular account, attempted a manufacture at Callen, and also gave great encouragement to some undertakers to erect the most considerable manufacture Ireland ever saw for cloth and stuffs at Clonmel, which for some years employed many hundreds of people, and made as good cloth and stuffs as England could produce.

“In Ulster. The Lord Dungannon at Dundalk; but the Scotch and Irish in that province, addicting themselves to spinning of linen yarn, attained to vast quantities of that commodity, which they transported to their great profit, the convenience of which drew thither multitudes of linen weavers, that my opinion is, there is not a greater quantity of linen produced in the like circuit in Europe; and although the generality of their cloth, fourteen years since, was sleasie and thin, yet of late it is much improved to a good fineness and strength, and will in all probability increase daily both in quantity and quality; but all the other manufactures mentioned, after the Duke’s removal from the government, dwindled away to nothing, except two or three that, like sick folk, are ready to expire.”

In 1663 an Act passed to restrain, and in 1665 another to prohibit, the exportation of cattle from Ireland. These stupid laws compelled the Irish to concentrate their labours upon the woollen trade, in which, as already shown, they had proved themselves to be by no means inexpert. Deprived of a market for their cattle, they increased the breed of sheep, and manufactured wool in greater quantities than ever. In this renewed effort they had begun to make good progress, when the tyrannical jealousy of England interposed and put a further check upon their industry.

In the history of no other country is a series of legislative decrees to be met with, such as were aimed against not the

woollen manufacture solely, but the whole trade of Ireland from the year 1660 to the year 1699. By the Act 12 Charles II. c. 4, heavy duties in England restrained the import to that country of Irish woollens. The Act 15 Charles II. c. 7, furnished the prohibition against the import of Irish cattle into England, and all exports of value from Ireland to the colonies. The Act 22 & 23 Charles II. forbade the import into Ireland of sugar, tobacco, cotton, indigo, steel, Jamaica wood, and other articles, unless first unloaded in an English port.\*

The woollen manufacture appears to have been regarded by the Irish as a matter of necessity, a last resource. They clung to it accordingly with singular perseverance. The talents of Sir William Temple had been invoked against it, in the year 1673, at the request of Lord Essex, then Viceroy. Sir William proposed that the Irish should relinquish the woollen trade, except in its lower branches, in order that it might not interfere with the same manufacture in England, and on account of the superior fitness of Ireland for the linen trade; but the people were not convinced by this reasoning. Immediately after the departure of James II. we find the woollen manufacture pushed to a considerable extent in the Liberties of Dublin. The security of property, consequent upon the capitulation of Limerick, induced a number of English manufacturers to avail themselves of the local advantages of the country, the cheapness of labour in it, the excellence of its wool, and the abundance of the necessaries of life. The Coombe, Pimlico, Spitalfields, and the Weavers' Square were then built, and soon became the residence of all that was opulent and respectable in the commercial ranks of the metropolis.

At length came the address from both houses of the English Parliament calling upon William III. to use his utmost diligence to hinder the exportations of wool from Ireland, which

\* Full particulars upon the subject of these various Acts of Parliament, and their injurious effects, are to be found in Dobb's "Essay on the Trade of Ireland," 1777; in "The Commercial Restraints of Ireland Considered," Dublin, 1777; and in Wallace's "Essay on the Trade and Manufactures of Ireland," Dublin, 1798.

produced from the king the well known assurance :—"My Lords and Gentlemen, I shall do all that in me lies to discourage the woollen manufacture of Ireland, and to encourage the linen manufacture there, and to promote the trade of England."\* The Irish parliament subserviently paved the way for the extinction of the woollen manufacture, by the Act 10 Will. III. c. 3, which being followed up the year after by an English Act gave the utmost effect to the policy of the Government. The enactment last referred to (after reciting how woollen manufactures of cloth, serge, baise, kerseys, and other stuffs made and mixed with wool, have of late been made and are daily increasing in the kingdom of Ireland, and in the English plantations of America, and are exported from thence to foreign markets heretofore supplied from England, which will inevitably sink the value of land and tend to the ruin of trade and the woollen manufactures of this realm) proceeds to interdict by intolerable duties the future export of wool and woollen goods to any parts of the world, except England, from Ireland or the plantations.†

For many years after this impolitic enactment Ireland languished in a condition of unprecedented poverty and distress. The first opening made for renewed labour and enterprise was in the year 1775, when the Irish were admitted to the Newfoundland Fisheries by the Act 15 Geo. III. c. 31. Previously they had participated in the advantages of this trade by sufferance—the naval commanders on the coast passing Irish vessels as English. This precarious indulgence having now

\* All Irish writers naturally condemn this proceeding in strong terms. It may be some relief to them to learn that the jealousies of trade furnish a corresponding instance of illiberality directed by the English legislature against English interests. When Dudley, Earl Ward, took out a patent for smelting iron from coal, an Act of Parliament was obtained to stop the working of the invention, upon the ground that it would injure the property in woods.

† The cruel process, which was now wound to a head, had been mitigated to some extent in its course by a letter obtained from Charles II. by the Duke of Ormond, dated March 23, 1667, directing all restraints upon the export of Irish goods to foreign parts, distinguished from our colonial possessions, to be removed, and stopping the import from Scotland of linen, woollen, and other commodities.



been made a matter of right, and liberal bounties being allowed at the same time to ships engaged in the whale fishery of Greenland and Davis' Straits, the Irish fitted out many vessels for the North Sea, and they continued to carry on a brisk and profitable commerce in that quarter of the globe down to a very recent period.

The American war was made the occasion of some most unjustifiable restraints upon Irish commerce. Apprehensive, it was said, lest France and the insurgent colonies might supply themselves with provisions from Ireland, Government, in the year 1776, prohibited the export of butter, beef, and pork from Ireland to every part of the world. This was needless oppression: there might have been some pretext for an embargo upon provisions exported to France and to some of the colonies at that moment, but to forbid the trade to all Europe was the exercise of tyrannical power. A prevailing idea with the statesmen of that time seems to have been that the poorer they kept Ireland the richer they made England. That mistake entailed upon England millions of expence, and the penalty is not yet paid in full. Again, the Irish merchants became a ruined body: they complained and remonstrated, for a while to no purpose; but, in the year 1778, they succeeded in getting the embargo taken off butter, and, in 1779, off beef and pork, except as regarded France.

This last year is memorable in the annals of Irish commerce for the address to the Crown, which proclaimed that a free trade alone could save the country from impending ruin. A series of acts in the British and Irish Parliaments, between the years 1779 and 1782, having given effect to this reviving doctrine, all the laws were repealed which prohibited the export of woollen and glass manufactures from Ireland, and at the same time the Irish were permitted to export and import to and from all parts of America, the British colonies, and the West Indies, as the Parliament of Ireland should regulate.

A temporary impulse was now given to Irish commerce, in which almost every branch of native industry participated. But it was inconsiderately prosecuted, and like all excesses

was followed by a reaction, which involved an extent of suffering and loss, outweighing by far any preceding profit or enjoyment. Starting from a very contracted to an almost unbounded sphere of operations, the Irish merchants and manufacturers ran wild with visions of overflowing wealth. Seizing upon goods wherever they were to be obtained, they pushed their exports into the American and other markets without judgment or moderation. These rash proceedings soon entailed severe penalties. The trade was not only excessive in point of quantity but inferior in point of quality: in many instances commodities were shipped in a raw and unfinished state; the character and reputation of Irish goods sank to a low ebb; and the glutted markets refused the expected returns. Disappointment and bankruptcy were the consequence. The artisan so recently lifted from poverty was suddenly flung back, as of old, upon idleness. His discontent superadded to the complaints of the broken merchants raised a public ferment, in the midst of which one sentiment, that of self-defence, predominated; and a loud cry was raised in favour of protecting duties and against the importation of goods from England. Refined sugar and printed calicoes were particularly denounced on this occasion, and Parliament was called upon to lay heavy duties upon all such articles, in order to encourage their manufacture and production in Ireland. Mr. Orde's commercial propositions grew out of this state of confusion, but failed, as observed in Vol. II. p. 220, to smooth it down. A fierce spirit of rivalry and competition was now maintained by the mercantile men of both countries, and at every opportunity the one sought to gain an advantage over the other. The inconvenience of two independent legislatures is in nothing shown more strongly than in the confusion and embarrassment created by the numerous Acts of Parliament, English and Irish, that were passed to check, counteract, and restrain the trade of both countries by imposing duties and interdicts, and allowing drawbacks, now here now there, so that the only positive effect realized was to make the investment of capital and labour in commerce dependant upon that most exacting of

all authorities, the self-interest of a rival in the same line of operations. In this unseemly contest the Irish, as the weaker party, suffered most.

It is painful to trace the evidence of distress furnished by the journals of both Houses of the Parliament in Ireland during the whole of this period. The records there preserved give a very different account of the state of the country from that which some modern politicians would fain insist upon. Between the year 1781 to the year 1800 we may read a long string of petitions, lamenting with one voice the decay of trade and the ruin of manufactures. Cork, Dublin, Wexford, Carrick-on-Suir, Roscrea, and even Belfast, are to be found on the roll of complaining places. The woollen and worsted manufacturers, the makers of satinets and silks, the cotton and hosiery trades, shoemakers, book printers, tanners and hatters, represent the interests which pressed forward in those years with the most earnest prayers for relief. In short, the more carefully this subject is examined, the more certain will it appear that, after the first sanguine outburst, which came as a natural consequence from the abolition of long-standing restrictions, all the extension or improvement effected in the trade and manufactures of Ireland was forced by bounties, drawbacks, or restrictive duties: and these may be truly described as the instruments, occasionally of benefit to individuals, but in by far the majority of cases, as the direct producers of serious evil both to individuals and the community at large.

The sixth article of the Act of Union regulated trade and navigation, in respect of which the subjects of Great Britain and Ireland are declared to be on the same footing in all ports, places, and treaties. All prohibitions and bounties are removed on the exportation of the produce or bounty of one country to the other: and articles, the growth or manufacture of either country, are to be imported free, with the exception of certain articles—such as salt, hops, coals, calico, muslin, cotton yarn, and cotton, which are more fully particularized in two schedules. The existing duties



on these were continued for a limited period, after which they were to be gradually reduced and finally cease in the year 1815.

The consolidation of the Exchequer of Ireland and England in the year 1820, the equalization of the current coin of the two kingdoms, and the infusion of their commerce into the same channels by means of the custom-house regulations, which made the trade of Ireland with England a coasting trade, in the year 1825 removed the last terms of inequality, and left the mercantile interests of both thenceforward perfectly free and unfavoured in all their relations one with the other.

Here the sources of our information become once more entangled and interrupted. It would be an interesting and important thing to show statistically the progress of trade and navigation in Ireland, from the period of the Union to the present day. But this unfortunately is not to be done. The official tables of trade and revenue, which are full and particular from the year 1800 to the year 1825, there break off, owing to the abolition of the separate custom-houses. We are thus left without any records whatever of many transactions, and some records of others so palpably defective and incomplete as to be worthless for the purpose of reference or illustration.

A general view of the trade of Ireland, for a period of twenty years before and twenty years after the Union, is to be obtained from the statistics of M. Cesar Moreau. The following table does not include all the articles it should contain, and does not indicate the value of the articles specified; but as regards quantities it is instructive, and certainly far from discouraging.

TABLE I.

QUANTITY OF ARTICLES Imported into Ireland, at two periods of twenty years each, prior and subsequent to the Union, from all parts.

Articles.	From 1781 to 1800.	From 1802 to 1821.	Increase.
Drapery . . . yds.	23,833,381	49,692,058	25,858,677
Sugar, raw . . . cwts.	3,796,285	6,089,175	2,292,890
Ditto, refined . . . cwts.	149,513	490,315	340,802
Tea . . . lbs.	22,711,224	66,847,251	44,136,027
Coals . . . tons	6,413,557	10,897,970	4,484,413
Iron . . . cwts.	3,917,882	5,530,682	1,612,800
Flax seed . . . hhds.	837,746	934,049	96,303
Cotton wool . . . cwts.	199,751	538,542	338,791
Tobacco . . . lbs.	99,402,762	116,112,836	16,710,074
Cotton yarn . . . lbs.	4,551,336	19,995,350	15,444,014
Timber . . . tons	298,981	490,245	191,264
Hats . . . No.	152,366	1,387,209	1,234,843
Hides, undressed . . . No.	84,287	450,031	365,744
Hops . . . cwts.	295,234	400,701	105,467
Hosiery . . . pcs.	3,606,074	7,995,640	4,389,566
Oak-bark . . . bls.	2,224,655	2,550,853	326,193
Barilla . . . cwts.	2,122,932	2,182,060	59,128

TABLE II.

QUANTITY OF ARTICLES Exported from Ireland, at two periods of twenty years each, prior and subsequent to the Union, to all parts of the World.

Articles.	From 1781 to 1800.	From 1802 to 1821.	Increase.
Linen . . . yds.	678,798,721	832,403,860	153,605,139
Butter . . . lbs.	5,777,566	7,915,949	2,138,383
Pork . . . bls.	2,164,608	2,565,403	400,783
Wheat . . . bls.	1,334,567	4,223,782	2,889,215
Meal and flour . . . cwts.	747,674	1,686,948	939,274
Barley . . . bls.	1,027,323	1,842,993	815,670
Candles . . . cwts.	117,276	205,958	88,682
Hogs . . . No.	70,272	687,569	617,297
Oats . . . bls.	7,650,359	16,112,142	8,461,783
Bacon, fitches . . . No.	1,013,552	6,248,527	5,243,975
Horned cattle . . . No.	302,287	747,815	445,528
Spirits . . . galls.	79,892	10,349,752	10,269,860
Lard . . . cwts.	80,974	313,867	232,893
Soap . . . cwts.	92,616	219,506	126,890
Copper ore . . . tons	9,923	30,243	20,320
Feathers . . . cwts.	28,167	106,307	78,140
Kelp . . . tons	31,224	64,731	33,507

The Irish Railway Commissioners obtained returns showing the value of the exports to Great Britain, and the imports from all parts of the world, for the year 1835. With a view of marking the rate of progress to the year last mentioned, the total sums for each of the preceding decennial dates, since the Union, are here annexed :—

Years.	Exports to Great Britain.	Imports from all parts.
1805	£4,067,717	£5,294,967
1815	6,746,353	7,797,286
1825	7,048,936	8,596,785
1835	17,394,814	15,337,077

There are no returns by which the extent of the commerce of Ireland can be measured, or at least approximately indicated in a consecutive form for any considerable number of years, except those which give the number of ships and their tonnage inwards and outwards, by which the commerce itself was carried on.\*

\* While upon the subject of shipping it may not be amiss to give another illustration of progress, which is to be found in the Report of the Tidal Harbour Commissioners (1844), in the form of a comparative statement of the port of Dublin in the years 1803 and 1844.

1803.	Tons.	1844.	Tons.
Largest vessel belonging to Dublin was the Columbus, owned by Furlong.	309	Largest vessel belonging to Dublin—Jane Augusta; owned by J. Smith	948
The largest vessel arrived in Dublin was the Copernicus	406	Largest vessel arrived in Dublin was Jane Augusta	948
<i>Of other vessels: arrived—</i>		<i>Of other vessels: arrived—</i>	
4 vessels between 300 and 400 tons register.		10 between 300 and 400 tons register.	
1 only above 400, being the Copernicus, 406 tons.		10 between 400 and 500 ditto.	
		4 between 500 and 600 ditto.	
		1 between 600 and 700 ditto.	
		1 between 700 and 800 ditto.	
		1 above 900 ditto.	
Number of vessels cleared at Dublin	3,985	Number of vessels cleared at Dublin	4,492
Tonnage	373,790	Tonnage	610,092
Average tonnage of all vessels cleared at Dublin	90	Average tonnage of all vessels cleared at Dublin	136



Here again the rate of progress is satisfactory, as the following table, framed at the Board of Trade, will attest.

STATEMENT OF THE NUMBER AND TONNAGE OF VESSELS which entered and cleared the Ports of Ireland in each year, from 1814 to 1847; including the intercourse between Ireland and Great Britain.

Years.	ENTERED.		CLEARED.		Years.	ENTERED.		CLEARED.	
	Ships.	Tonnage.	Ships.	Tonnage.		Ships.	Tonnage.	Ships.	Tonnage.
1814	10,242	904,677	9,901	883,432	1831	14,499	1,420,382	9,801	1,073,545
1815	10,800	942,864	10,483	935,648	1832	15,706	1,559,483	10,635	1,112,752
1816	10,203	902,476	9,481	856,578	1833	15,462	1,589,998	9,979	1,153,643
1817	10,890	954,012	9,909	887,520	1834	15,830	1,643,598	10,454	1,196,521
1818	10,475	907,782	10,129	893,370	1835	15,581	1,647,877	10,385	1,232,075
1819	11,501	1,023,869	10,380	982,474	1836	15,714	1,683,978	10,276	1,270,864
1820	10,410	926,601	9,925	902,648	1837	17,403	1,783,107	10,744	1,282,876
1821	10,724	961,535	10,061	918,366	1838	16,563	1,718,543	10,721	1,328,423
1822	11,561	1,040,355	10,345	962,713	1839	18,464	1,948,186	9,906	1,284,613
1823	10,936	952,688	10,066	897,818	1840	18,973	1,944,285	10,596	1,313,916
1824	11,959	1,101,769	8,255	743,068	1841	17,909	1,875,511	10,709	1,328,946
1825	12,658	1,167,313	9,694	878,567	1842	11,341	1,930,236	9,769	1,275,046
1826	12,654	1,241,873	7,238	801,338	1843	17,938	1,891,610	11,664	1,398,408
1827	11,748	1,195,686	8,135	875,998	1844	18,785	2,069,062	11,655	1,548,836
1828	13,291	1,308,573	9,456	1,045,677	1845	20,320	2,320,982	12,383	1,715,106
1829	14,971	1,470,977	9,645	1,039,461	1846	21,953	2,619,653	10,741	1,750,834
1830	14,307	1,407,983	9,145	1,016,213	1847	20,773	2,633,363	11,014	1,877,337

The registered tonnage of the Irish ports conveys definite information, and indicates by itself a state of things from which positive deductions may be safely drawn. Subjoined therefore are those for different periods of three years each before the Union and since that event.

Name of Port.	Years 1797, 1798, 1799.	Years 1824, 1825, 1826.	In- crease.	Years 1833, 1834, 1835.	Years 1840, 1841, 1842.	In- crease.	Years 1843, 1844, 1845.	Years 1846, 1847, 1848.	Increase be- tween first pe- riod, 1797-8-9, and last period.
	tons	tons		tons	tons		tons	tons	
Baltimore . . .	3,965	7,250	3,375	7,274	8,291	1,017	10,606	11,230	7,265
Belfast . . .	13,062	45,511	35,449	81,322	149,809	68,487	154,402	202,011	189,149
Cork . . .	13,424	17,101	3,677	56,751	101,349	44,598	115,658	105,850	2,436
Donaghadee . . .	2,234	5,158	2,914	In	other ports				
Drogheda . . .	2,966	7,354	4,358	9,704	14,507	4,803	14,692	19,287	6,291
Dublin . . .	33,485	54,824	20,339	70,405	94,742	24,337	105,101	126,288	92,803
Kilrush . . .	none	974	974	In	other ports				
Kinsale . . .	4,853	9,442	4,589	"	"	"	"	"	"
Larne . . .	2,877	4,467	1,590	"	"	"	"	"	"
Limerick . . .	3,390	4,316	926	10,000	42,247	32,247	42,837	43,153	39,763
Londonderry . . .	2,856	8,628	5,772	17,680	26,155	8,466	23,507	27,844	14,988
Newry . . .	12,492	27,402	14,910	22,492	32,720	10,228	35,018	35,714	23,222
Sligo . . .	346	1,451	1,105	4,042	13,030	8,988	9,353	14,266	13,950
Trillick . . .	450	1,346	896	In	other ports			979	529
Waterford . . .	8,927	12,362	3,433	34,345	60,346	26,001	66,547	104,226	85,299
Wexford . . .	6,884	15,280	8,396	19,425	26,185	6,673	24,583	25,318	18,434
Other Ports . . .	—	—	—	4,323	—	—	29,677	57,229	57,229
Total Irish Ton- nage registered during those pe- riods . . .	112,333	225,766	112,613	337,772	569,294	235,845	631,981	773,435	561,358

In order to show the value of the recent commerce of the country, the gross amount of the customs duties at each of the Irish ports is annexed, for the years 1841 to 1848 inclusive:—

CUSTOMS DUTIES COLLECTED IN IRELAND.

Ports.	1841.			1842.			1843.			1844.			1845.			1846.			1847.			1848.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Ballina . .	1,731	6	1	960	19	5	119	14	9	158	19	11	185	19	10	211	19	6	784	10	6	4,040	0	5
Baltimore .	365,023	16	6	372,792	8	0	350,120	9	5	340,080	18	0	366,414	14	6	373,284	8	5	363,577	6	8	1,073	0	2
Belfast . .	5,079	4	7	6,581	16	11	5,408	18	9	5,178	8	1	5,011	7	5	4,087	12	2	4,856	16	11	334,232	0	0
Coleraine .	256,612	17	2	263,364	1	11	282,772	10	2	277,551	5	10	302,207	15	5	284,450	3	7	319,647	14	5	4,638	6	8
Cork . . .	7,979	4	8	8,608	14	4	8,134	3	3	7,345	1	7	9,372	18	10	11,175	6	10	16,792	13	11	289,625	7	4
Drogheda .	889,564	4	5	977,718	8	2	962,449	11	0	977,890	18	0	1,041,057	13	6	1,017,658	14	2	1,062,436	19	6	16,468	14	7
Dublin . .	20,128	2	1	24,904	2	10	25,221	19	5	23,114	9	6	28,675	8	11	33,787	3	1	40,066	13	11	988,044	18	6
Dundalk . .	27,465	19	4	27,768	9	5	23,463	5	0	25,273	10	9	28,195	11	8	34,277	18	2	41,024	15	7	40,852	8	9
Galway . .	169,490	5	7	170,552	6	1	157,904	12	2	155,472	9	3	176,979	2	0	192,889	4	1	218,807	0	6	37,777	9	10
Limerick . .	103,900	8	4	108,507	11	6	108,977	11	8	99,771	9	1	105,830	5	4	109,339	12	0	125,784	10	10	192,689	13	4
Londonderry.	44,039	10	3	42,010	9	4	43,819	7	7	38,852	15	0	44,648	0	3	39,589	10	2	41,845	10	4	105,858	18	3
Newry . . .	3,678	19	4	25,334	17	3	24,421	3	1	20,221	14	2	22,734	14	0	12,377	5	3	14,329	14	2	38,400	1	6
Ross . . .	32,689	16	3	36,627	7	10	31,994	6	10	29,969	3	1	31,531	18	8	30,617	4	0	35,470	14	2	17,811	6	8
Sligo . . .	196,388	18	0	168,359	6	2	176,382	0	1	157,372	6	9	173,284	17	3	162,794	14	5	178,807	3	0	31,300	4	3
Tralee . . .	7,554	17	5	10,951	19	9	11,455	8	5	12,125	7	1	14,320	5	0	14,139	4	8	18,036	6	0	179	16	7
Waterford .	9,357	1	11	9,736	1	8	9,113	11	0	8,782	1	8	9,501	2	5	11,710	12	3	13,551	2	9	149,612	13	4
Westport . .	2,140,684	11	11	2,254,779	0	7	2,221,398	12	7	2,179,160	17	9	2,362,826	15	10	2,333,125	18	5	2,497,220	8	1	15,391	15	1
Wexford . .																						14,823	1	3
Total . . .																						2,282,839	16	6

Several details, indicating in a striking form the progress of industrial improvement, are to be found in the second report of the Irish Railway Commissioners. None of these are more instructive than the tables which describe the number of steam engines erected in the different towns, and the purposes for which they were worked, up to the year 1835. Some trustworthy additions, contributed for the present work, carry this branch of information down to the end of the year 1843, and are here annexed.

STEAM ENGINES EMPLOYED IN FACTORIES, ETC.—from the Irish Railway Report, App. B., No. 17.

	Number of Engines.	Date of Erection.	Horse Power.	For what Purpose employed.
Dublin	1	1833	24	Pumping Coal Pits.
"	1	1833	12	Winding up Coals.
"	1	1834	10	Pumping Quarries.
"	1	1835	10	Working Hot and Cold Calenders.
"	1	1837	—	Pumping Mines, Wexford.
"	1	1838	8	Working in Shop for selves.
"	1	1811	45	Rolling Hoops, &c., Boring, Turning, &c.
"	1	1812	4	Blowing Machine and Turning Lathes.
"	1	1813	25	Distillery.
"	1	1815	25	"
"	1	1816	25	"
"	1	1816	8	Corn Mill.
"	1	1817	12	Distillery.
"	1	1817	10	Paper Mill.
"	1	1824	20	Distillery.
"	1	1825	6	Brewery.
"	1	1826	20	Corn Mill.
"	1	1827	16	Cotton Spinning Mill.
"	1	1828	20	Cotton Printing Works.
"	1	1828	8	Actuating Machinery.
"	1	1829	20	Distillery.
"	1	1831	16	Actuating Machinery.
"	1	1832	10	Pumping Water.
"	1	1834	16	Brewery and Corn Mill.
"	1	1834	10	Brewing, &c.
"	1	1833	10	Pumping Water.
"	1	1836	4	Gas Works.
"	1	1836	14	Corn Mill.
"	1	1837	30	Pumping Water, Colliery.
Total	29	—	438	



## STEAM ENGINES ERECTED BETWEEN THE YEARS 1839 AND 1843.

Number of Engines.	Date of Erection.	Horse Power.	For what Purpose employed.	Where employed.
1	1839	30	Flour Mills.	At Dublin.
1	1839	24	Distillery and Corn Mill.	Ditto.
1	1840	30	Cotton Machinery.	Near Dublin.
1	1840	8	Bark Mill, &c., at Tanner's.	Dublin.
1	1841	8	" "	Ditto.
1	1839	20	Cotton Machinery, &c.	Near Dublin.
1	1843	100	Working Atmospheric Railway.	Dalkey.
2	1844	200	Propelling Steam Packets.	Between Dublin and London.
1	1838	10	Turning and Sawing Machinery.	Dublin.
1	1839	20	Crushing Linseed.	Ditto.
11		450		

One 12-horse engine, at a distillery near Dublin, has been taken down and not re-erected.

One 14-horse engine, in a corn mill, not worked for two or three years, but still standing.

## RETURN OF STEAM ENGINES AT CORK—from the Railway Report.

	Number of Engines	Date of Erection.	Horse Power.	For what Purpose employed.
Cork.	2	1815	32	Grinding Malt, Mashing, &c.
"	2	1817	40	" "
"	1	1818	12	" "
"	2	1820	48	" "
"	1	1820	12	" "
"	1	1823	8	Glass Cutting.
"	1	1824	20	Making Cloth.
"	2	1825	40	Grinding Malt, Mashing, &c.
"	1	1826	8	" "
"	1	1828	12	" "
"	1	1828	20	" Flour.
"	2	1830	48	" Malt, Mashing, &c.
"	1	1830	12	Bleaching Linen.
"	1	1835	20	Grinding Malt, Mashing, &c.
"	1	1837	20	" Flour.
"	5	{ 1810 to 1830 }	40	Foundries.
"	1	1830	8	Foundry.
"	1	1830	4	"
"	1	1834	8	"
Total	28	—	412	

**STEAM ENGINES ERECTED IN CORK BETWEEN THE YEARS  
1836 AND 1843.**

Date of Erection.	Number of Engines.	Horse Power.	For what Purpose employed.
1840	1	30	Grinding Flour.
1843	1	12	" Malt, &c.
1837	1	8	" "
1841	1	30	Saw Mills.
1841	1	20	"
1841	1	10	"
1841	1	6	Pumping, &c.
1838	1	4	Carding Wool.
1838	1	6	Tan Yard.
1838	1	4	"
1839	1	12	Foundry.
1839	1	4	"
1843	1	14	Sugar House.
1843	1	4	Foundry.
1843	1	4	Glazing Linen, and Hot Pressing.
1840	1	4	Cleaning Feathers.
—	16	172	

**STEAM ENGINES AT WORK IN LIMERICK, DECEMBER, 1843.**

Business.	Engines.	Horse Power.	How employed.
Miller . . .	1	46	Grinding Wheat, hoisting Corn, &c. (Was a 36-horse power.)
Founder . . .	1	6	Blowing Furnace, melting Metal, driving Lathes, &c.
Ditto . . .	1	12	Ditto, ditto. (And to be used for grinding oats also.)
Tanner and Provision Merchant . }	1	6	{ Grinding Bark, pumping, and grinding Saltpetre.
Corn Merchants .	1	6	Hoisting Corn, and cleaning and screening same.
Ditto . . .	1	3	Ditto, ditto.
	1	4	For purifying Gas, is reduced to about 1-horse power.
Miller and Brewer .	1	10	Occasionally employed for grinding Wheat and Oats.
Waterworks . . .	2	40	Forcing Water from the Shannon to the Tanks.
	each		
	20 H. P.		
Grocer . . .	1	2	Grinding Coffee, once, twice, or thrice a-week, reduced to about 1½-horse power.
Brewers . . .	1	8	Grinding Malt in Brewery.
	12	143	

## STEAM ENGINES AT WORK NEAR LIMERICK, DECEMBER, 1843.

Business.	Engines.	Horse Power.	How employed.
Miller . . . .	1	26	Grinding and assisting Water-power at Mills, Blackwater, about 3 miles from Limerick.
Ditto . . . .	1	16	Grinding Oats at O'Brien's Bridge Mill, about 8 miles from Limerick.
	2	42	
NOT AT WORK.			
Distillers . . .	2 each 10 H. P.	20	A double engine for pumping, now idle, Thomond Gate Distillery.
Ditto . . . .	1	30	Grinding, now idle, Thomond Gate Distillery.
Ditto . . . .	1	40	Ditto, ditto.
Brewer . . . .	1	8	Grinding Malt, now idle.
	5	98	

## STEAM ENGINES AT LONDONDERRY, DECEMBER 31, 1843—distinguishing the increase since 1835.

Number of Engines.	Date of Erection.	Horse Power.	For what Purpose employed.	
1	1815	19	Distillery.	Not Working.
1	1825	20	Corn Mill.	Working.
1	1834	10	Distillery.	"
1	1835	20	Corn Mill.	"
1	1836	20	Distillery.	"
1	1836	8	Metal Foundry.	"
1	1837	20	Spinning Mill.	"
1	1837	8	Foundry for Machinery.	"
1	1838	4	Brewery.	"
1	1840	16	Corn Mill.	"
1	1841	20	" "	"
1	1841	16	" "	"
1	1841	20	" "	"
1	1842	20	" "	"
14	—	212		
In 1835 4	—	60		
Increase 10		152		



STEAM ENGINES IN CLONMEL, DECEMBER 31, 1843—distinguishing those erected since 1835.

Number of Engines.	Date of Erection.	Horse Power.	For what Purpose employed.
1	1828	8	Brewery.
1	1833	30	Grinding Flour.
1	1837	25	"
1	1838	8	Iron Foundry.
1	1839	12	Grinding Oatmeal.
1	1840	10	"
1	1843	6	Brewery.
7	—	97	
In 1835 2	—	36	
Increase 5	—	61	

A popular view of the present state of the manufactures of Ireland is afforded by the list of prizes awarded for the best specimens of Irish manufacture, produce, and invention, exhibited at the Royal Dublin Society in June, 1847. The specimens, it is to be observed, came from all parts of Ireland.

In the first section, gold and silver medals were given for silks, linens, cottons, stuffs, embroidery, rope, and cord; the second section included medals for woollen cloths, blankets, flannels, carpets, weaving, tapestry, fringes, &c.; the third section for lace, hosiery, gloves, haberdashery, sewing, knitting, &c.; the fourth section for furniture carving, gilding, glass lamps, &c.; the fifth section for musical, optical, mechanical, and philosophical instruments, &c.; the sixth section for paper, bookbinding, paper-hangings, parchment, engraving on copper and steel, typography, lithography, &c.; the seventh section for works in the precious metals, copper, brass, iron, plumber's work, cutlery, surgical instruments, fire-arms, medals, dies, buttons, electro-plating, &c.; the eighth section was for hair-cloth, wigs, furs, artificial flies, &c.; the ninth section for agricultural implements and models; the tenth section for carriages, cars, gigs, and other vehicles; the eleventh section for leather, saddlery, harness, whips, portmanteaus, &c.; the

twelfth and last section was for candles, soap, ink, glue, and chemical preparations.

The report made upon this occasion, though a very flattering one, appears to have been generally echoed by the newspaper critics. It summed up the merits of the exhibition by stating that "It was to be viewed with pride by all well-wishers of the country—proving, as it does, under trying circumstances, that our artizans and manufacturers possess sufficient energy and elasticity of character to enable them, not only to breast misfortune, but to rise above it; and to produce specimens of native manufacture, superior in number, variety, and merit to those which have been exhibited on any former occasion."

The description and situation of the Irish factories, reported to Parliament by Mr. Stuart, in the session of 1837, gives the only summary that bears the stamp of official authority. He says:—

"There are 25 cotton factories in Ireland—those of the largest size, excepting one in the county of Waterford, being situate in Belfast and its vicinity.

"There are 41 hemp or tow factories in Ireland—all, excepting two, situated in the northern part of Ireland, chiefly at Belfast.

"There are 46 woollen or worsted factories in Ireland—all situated at Dublin, or in the southern counties of Ireland.

"The cotton factories in Ireland contain 3683 workers—of whom 1715 are between 13 and 18 years of age, and 23 between 9 and 13 years of age.

"The flax factories in Ireland contain 7810 workers—of whom 2962 are between 13 and 18 years of age, and 74 between 9 and 13 years of age.

"The woollen factories in Ireland contain 1321 workers—of whom 108 are between 13 and 18 years of age, and 2 between 9 and 13 years of age."

The only further information contained in the Parliamentary Papers, relating to the sites of Irish manufactures, is to be found in a Return numbered 135, for the session of 1841, which specifies the number of factories in the district of each Inspector; and gives a variety of statistics relating to their condition.

A few words will suffice to describe the present condition of the manufactures thus situated.

The linen, the first by far in value and importance, claims as its chief seat the banks of the river Bann, with Belfast as the capital of the trade. That river, by the rapidity of its current and the number of its falls, is peculiarly favourable to the working of machinery, and has led to the erection of the greatest number of mills in the country. From Banbridge, long celebrated for its linen market, linen weaving spreads over the whole of the counties of Down and Antrim, and extends into those of Donegal, Armagh, Cavan, and Fermanagh. The present condition of the manufacture is strong and healthy. Fostered at its birth, and for many years afterwards, by bounties, legislative protection, and other artificial means, it suffered a violent shock when those dangerous aids were at last withdrawn, and it was nakedly exposed in the progress of free trade to the competition of other markets—English, Scotch, and foreign. In Glasgow and at Manchester vigorous efforts were made to wrest away from Ireland this valuable aid to the national industry and wealth, but they failed of success. The linen trade may now be regarded not simply as the principal staple of Ireland, but as one of the principal staples of the United Kingdom, and perhaps second to no other in importance. One fact is above all others full of instruction in the history of this manufacture. When the Government maintained a Board for its especial encouragement and regulation, when bounties were paid upon everything produced, and there was a duty imposed upon all competing fabrics from abroad, the export of the article was 35,000,000 yards; but in the year 1848, when bounties and protection had ceased, and the trade was perfectly free, the export was 75,000,000 of yards, valued at £4,000,000.

The quantity used for home consumption cannot be ascertained. The last official inquiry upon the subject was the one conducted by Mr. Otway, for the Hand-loom Weavers Commission, in the year 1840. The result of that gentleman's investigation was, that "the production and consumption of linens had been on the increase during the present century;" and that at no other period had the trade been in so good a



condition, "whether we regard the extent of the manufacture, the quality of the fabrics, or the mode in which the manufacture is conducted."

The cotton manufacture is extensively prosecuted in Belfast and its immediate neighbourhood. The origin of this branch of Irish industry is referred to the year 1777, when Mr. Joy, father of the late Chief Baron of the Irish Exchequer, was led by what he saw in Scotland to propose the spinning of cotton as a fit and profitable employment for the children in the workhouse of Belfast. A company was soon formed to give the plan more extended effect; and some pecuniary assistance having been obtained through the Dublin Society, a number of difficulties were gradually overcome, and the enterprise grew with a steady effect, becoming really prosperous soon after the Union was carried. In the year 1801 there was a duty upon the exportation of cotton goods from Ireland of 68 per cent. *ad valorem*, which was reduced in the year 1816, and soon after abolished.

In the year 1808 this manufacture had spread into the counties of Antrim, Louth, and Dublin. There was a factory at Randalstown, the building and machinery of which had cost £5000; another was raised, under the patronage of Mr. Foster, at Collon; a third in Dublin; and a fourth of the largest dimensions and capabilities, which cost £40,000, at Strafford, in the county of Wicklow. This was the property of the Messrs. Orr, who were borne down, with many others, by the panic of 1825. After that ordeal the cotton manufacture gained new strength, and acquired its highest state of prosperity. There were, about the year 1826, as many as 21 factories in Belfast and its neighbourhood, with upwards of 600 power-looms at work in them. At Island Bridge, near Dublin, Mr. Henry printed calicoes, which commanded the best prices, even in the Manchester market. This gentleman carried on a first-rate trade down to the day of his death, and chiefly with England. In the county of Waterford there is at Portlaw a large and well-conducted establishment for spinning and weaving cotton, built and conducted by the Messrs. Mal-

colmson, who afford extensive employment and keep up a valuable export trade with South America.

The woollen trade retains its hold upon the country, but is not prosecuted to any extent commensurate with the obvious facilities naturally afforded for its cultivation. Although it forms a portion of the daily occupation of the people throughout a broad district of country, it is not to be met with in any large establishments, except one or two in the county of Cork, and a few small ones in Kilkenny, and at Carrick-on-Suir : in Dublin only it is produced in a highly finished state. Some specimens of superfine cloth, manufactured by the Dublin clothiers, have been commended of late years in flattering terms.

Mr. Otway, in summing up the condition of the woollen manufacture for the Hand-loom Weavers Commission, in the year 1840, makes the following remarks :—

“ Mr. Willans has shown that the prosperity of the woollen trade, previous to the removal of the protecting duties in 1823, was greatly exaggerated, and that they did not afford to the manufacturers the advantages intended. There can be no doubt that considerable benefit resulted from the substitution of large capitalists for the smaller manufacturers, so numerous previous to 1810—a change which took place about the year 1812. The panic of 1825, the results of which were not fully developed until the following year, produced, as fully stated and explained by Mr. Willans, great distress among the Dublin operatives, but not greater than was felt at the same time in the manufacturing districts of England. I am, however, led to believe that this crisis produced many beneficial effects. It swept away all the establishments supported by a system of fictitious credit, and it led to the examination of the rate of wages, and a comparison of the amount with the actual instead of the nominal profits. Wages were consequently reduced ; but, had the old system been retained, the crash would have been eventually more ruinous, and employment would have ceased altogether. Thus, what the woollen trade lost in extent, it gained in real stability. It is now in a healthy and progressive condition, especially as the advancement of steam navigation has opened new markets for Irish woollen goods in the south and west of England. Its continued progress will however, I think, necessitate the introduction of power-looms. If this be done gradually the hand-loom weavers will have little cause to complain ; if suddenly, great and unavoidable distress for a season will follow. But such distress can only be temporary, for new sources of employment by the general im-

provement of the country, and by the departments of weaving to which the power-loom does not apply being extended."

The tabinet or poplin manufacture, that beautiful combination of silk and worsted, has never left Dublin, where it was first reared by the Frenchmen who were driven by the edict of Nantes to find in foreign countries a new home for their skill and labour. In every respect this seems to be a stationary trade. The original beauty of the article is preserved: in point of texture and pattern it still challenges universal admiration, but there seems to be no perceptible extension of the quantity brought to market, or the capital invested in its production.

Glass is manufactured in Dublin and in Waterford. The quality and pattern are excellent, but the quantity is inconsiderable. This state of things has been referred to the inability of the Irish manufacturers to compete with the capital of England. Unquestionably the rivalry is formidable, but then no facts have been brought out to show that Ireland is unsuited to the manufacture. On the contrary, there are grounds for believing that, if undertaken with a proper degree of spirit and exertion, it would prove decidedly successful. The men most likely to make a fortune by it would perhaps be Englishmen with moderate capital and a thorough knowledge of the trade throughout all its branches in their own country.

Ship-building is followed, but not extensively: Dublin, Belfast, Cork, and Waterford, have each of them establishments for this purpose, which would in all probability attain considerable repute and prosperity, were it not for a lawless spirit of combination which has over and over again thwarted and defeated the best and most skilful efforts to extend employment in this way.

The lace-trade of Limerick is of recent origin. It was introduced by an Englishman of the name of Walker, who in a few years gave employment to 400 girls, and sold the produce of their labour in London. His example was quickly followed by others: there were four lace factories, and upwards of 1000



persons employed in them, during the year 1843. This is a business which might be easily extended, in other towns as well as Limerick.

Such are the manufactures of Ireland; and on all sides it is asked, How are they to be improved? A full answer to this inquiry could not be given in a brief space. But one thing said upon it is so true that it should be brought out upon every opportunity, and it is this—the first thing needed, and that without which all else will be worthless, is self-exertion.

Nothing is more perceptible than the sensitiveness of Irishmen upon every point that tends to show the low and defective state in which their country lies: nothing can be more emphatic or impressive than the lamentations and remonstrances of Irish writers upon the staple of Irish misfortunes and grievances; and yet nothing is more certain or remarkable than the indolence of almost all classes in the country—high, low, and middle—and their reluctance to make any decided or continuous effort to remove evils which are pressing them to the earth, and yet are easy to lift; or to promote those improvements which they, one and all, acknowledge to be practicable without extraordinary difficulty. Whig, Tory, and Repealer are perfectly indistinguishable in this respect. Would they bestir themselves, and act upon the convictions with which one and all are evidently impressed, surprising results would soon begin to appear. But though most powerful to complain they are impotent to labour. The capabilities of the country are their boast, the freedom to cultivate is full and unrestricted; but the industrial application required for the purpose fails them completely. This is by far the worst diagnosis of Irish disease. When a whole people lack the spirit to accomplish the good which is obviously within their reach, then indeed their case becomes hopeless, and we may almost despair of their progress or improvement.

If this be a true account of the national condition, must there not be in the people a degree of heartlessness, of cowardice, and a mean submission to poverty and degradation, which, if they should continue to operate much longer, will necessarily

divest the Irish character of all nobility of mind, of all bravery of character, of all fortitude or desert of any kind? The prevailing temper and disposition of the people will appear the more singular in this respect, if we compare them with the strength and intensity of their prejudices, and the vigorous animation with which Irish politics have for so many years been fostered and held predominant. They who could so deeply feel and expressively describe the sufferings produced by the inequality of the law, the decay of trade, and the want of employment, would be thought the likeliest to prove quick and able in devising expedients to repair the consequences of these evils as soon as their sources were removed, and freedom and fair opportunities for labour and enterprise were everywhere offered. Unfortunately, however, this has not been done, not even attempted; on the contrary, there is now on the part of England too much reason for complaint and regret that, notwithstanding the liberal concessions yielded of late years to the rights of Ireland, notwithstanding the generosity with which Irish distress has been succoured, and Irish institutions in many though not in all instances have been improved, the tone of Irish reclamation and hostility remains as bitter as ever, while the demand for the means of subsistence grows louder in proportion as the efforts made by the Irish themselves to realize those means become more feeble.

Let us quote a passage from one of the most popular journals ever published in Ireland, as evidence of the manner in which this topic is treated. The Nation newspaper, in March, 1847, contained the following article:

“Some Englishman, sick of our eternal Irish complaints and ‘grievances,’ puts to us the following triumphant queries:—

“TO THE EDITOR OF ‘THE NATION.’

“*Liverpool, March 10, 1847.*

“SIR,—If it be no waste of your time, I would beg a reply to the following questions:—

“1st. Is there an entirely free trade between Ireland and England, or between Ireland and all colonial ports?

“2nd. Is capital all that is wanted to open the mines in Ireland?

"3rd. Are there any joint-stock companies in Ireland; and, if not, when may we expect to hear of the establishment of some? And also, Is there any law to hinder or weaken the operation of them in Ireland?"

"4th. Are there any obstructions to Irish commerce, trade, or manufactures, which do not exist with regard to the same in England?"

"Yours, very respectfully,

"A READER.

"To the *first* query, we answer—YES, quite too free. Your legislature kept up commercial restrictions only till Irish trade and commerce were finally crushed, and the capital which ought to have sustained them effectually secured to England. Then, when the current of trade was established—Irish raw produce to England, English manufactures to Ireland—Englishmen offered us 'free-trade.' It is not more free-trade, but less free-trade, that Ireland wants now.

"To the *second* query—Not only capital but, still more, enterprise is wanting. You have appropriated our capital to work *your* mines, and systematically broken the spirit of enterprise in Ireland by every form of discouragement, as well as by direct robbery.

"To the *third* query—There are joint-stock companies in Ireland, and would be many more but for the general impoverishment of the island, (explained before,) and but for the disproportionate cost, the long delay, and ultimate uncertainty of procuring private bills in *your* ill-informed, insolent, and over-worked legislature.

"To the *fourth* query—Not now: having plundered us and stripped us bare, and secured the markets of the world to yourselves, you can *now* afford to say to Ireland, 'What hinders you from rivalling us? Up, and be stirring; behold, your trade is free!'

"Our 'Reader' has read THE NATION with small profit, when he does not know that it is not of restrictions on our trade we complain, but that the trade itself is of such a kind as to leave us many millions poorer every year. Our rents, and corn, and cattle, go quite too freely to England. Cotton and woollen, and iron manufactures, come too freely into Ireland. Your restricted trade made Irishmen bankrupt, but your free-trade is sweeping them into their graves."

Now the fault of all this fine writing, as it is called, lies not solely in the malignant spirit it displays, but in the palpable misrepresentation that moral and industrial qualities are to be conferred on a people as easily as political privileges; that the English governor can, if he chooses, render Ireland prosperous by his act and not by hers; that a minister sitting



in Dublin Castle could, by any power or process, whether of free trade or restricted trade, or by any other device, avail to raise the country politically or substantially to the standard of the sister island, and make her as great as England is in commerce, manufactures, national industry, productiveness, and wealth. It is assumed that a cabinet may and ought to do this, than which there cannot be a wilder notion nor one more injurious to those who inculcate it. No minister or parliament, English or Irish, can do more than extend to Ireland the same freedom for self-exertion that is enjoyed elsewhere. This was formerly denied, but the greater the credit due to the modern statesmen who have conceded it. True, Ireland has been kept back by mis-government; but it is no mean advantage to her to have obtained perfect freedom for her industry at an era of rapid development, when the labours of a few years suffice to accomplish more than a century of toil did of old. Comparing England 50 years ago with England of the present day, we may note many results, produced within our own time, which more than warrant the belief, that if Ireland will avail herself energetically of her available resources she may greatly flourish within a very short time.

No man ever put the proper thoughts to be expressed upon this subject into nobler words than the late William Cobbett, when, visiting Cork, in the year 1834, he gave the following reply to an address presented to him by the Printers' Association of that city:

“GENTLEMEN,—If a man who has written and caused to be printed more matter than any man that ever lived, and who is addressing himself to the children of that press of which he may be called the father; if such a man cite himself in support of the advice that he is respectfully tendering, it will not, I trust, be deemed presumptuous. Look then, my young friends, at my career! See me dragged seventy-two miles from my home, and from that farm which I had earned, and was cultivating, as a solid provision for a wife and six, then small children. See me in a gaol amongst felons, for two years, with a thousand pounds fine to pay at the end of the two years, and bonds to enter into for seven years after that. See me paying the keeper and his people twenty guineas a-week for one hundred and four weeks, for the privilege of living and seeing my family

out of the society of felons. See the thousand pounds exacted by George IV. to the last farthing, and which he and his successors have both refused to restore. And all this because I had in print expressed my indignation at the flogging of English local militiamen in the heart of England, under a guard of Hanoverian soldiers. Contemplate the ruin that all this brought upon me. See me, when I had begun to recover this blow, driven across the Atlantic, to avoid certain death in a dungeon; see my wife and children following me thither; see me return again to England; see me a second time stripped of my last farthing, with all this family still to provide for; see me thus harassed, thus oppressed; see the unnatural press co-operating with my oppressors; see envy, the most malignant and incessant, combining the most unquenchable hatred in the breast of power, unlimited and unsparing. See and contemplate all these, unceasing in operation for thirty years, and find, if you can, in all my more than one hundred volumes, one single plaintive expression. And at the end of thirty years of oppression and calumny, see me risen from the plough to the parliament; and, still greater honour, see me entering your city, amidst the plaudits of perhaps eighty thousand people; and see me receiving this kind, this generous, this affectionate mark of your esteem and gratitude. *No, gentlemen, never did I call myself unhappy; never did I call myself unfortunate; never did I complain of my fate. I stated my wrongs, and I resented them. It has been thirty years of injuries, and thirty years of efforts, to avenge them."*

The concluding passage of that honourable statement ought to be branded upon the forehead of every complaining Irishman. For what is the plain fact? Here are 8,000,000 of people: they eat, they drink, and are clothed, and in some of the cities they are 80,000, 100,000, and 250,000 strong. Are not all the elements of trade, commerce, and manufactures in abundance here and in the highest condition? Then why are they not supplied by Irishmen? Why are strangers allowed to come in and furnish that which the Irish are free to do themselves, if they only will? Why is the English bagman, as he is sneeringly called, to be met with delivering his goods in every town in Ireland? Why, but because the Irishman does not choose to compete with him. Why is Belfast, in point of trade, manufactures, local self-government, and wealth, a place to be compared with Glasgow, Liverpool, and Bristol? Why, but because the inhabitants have always been unanimous and determined in minding their own affairs and

not permitting the Government to meddle with or job in them. Why then do not Dublin, Cork, and Limerick imitate the example that displays before their eyes the happy development of well merited and triumphant success? Why, but that they will not. If at Islandbridge calico prints, produced by an Englishman, have fetched a price in the market of Manchester which is not to be beaten by any competitor, what is there to prevent an Irishman from producing a similar article at the next mill on the Liffey? What, but his own indifference or faint-heartedness? If an English firm in Dublin produces a superfine cloth which in point of texture and price equals anything Yorkshire can import, why should not an Irish firm be equally successful? Why are the Quakers, wherever they are to be met with in Ireland, at the head of commerce, and almost invariably wealthy? Why, but because they are industrious and persevering? Does the law deny to any man in Dublin, Waterford, Clonmel, or Cork, any right, privilege, freedom, or immunity, which the Quakers use and enjoy? No, not one. The fault then lies not in the law nor in the land; but in the people. The true misfortune and ground of complaint is not that the markets are impeded or shut, but that the native merchant cares not to supply them: it is not the way, but the resolution to win a fortune that is wanting. And while this continues to be the case, the Irish may declaim as passionately and as eloquently as they please, but no man of sense, spirit, or understanding, will commiserate their state, so long as, being 8,000,000 in number consuming the necessaries and luxuries of life, they yet fail to retain in their own hands trade, commerce, and manufactures to a corresponding extent.



## CHAPTER XX.

## BANKING.

THREE DIVISIONS OF THE SUBJECT: HISTORY, BEFORE THE CHARTER OF THE BANK OF IRELAND; THENCE TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF JOINT-STOCK BANKS; AND, THIRDLY, DOWN TO THE PRESENT TIME.—HEAVY FAILURES AMONGST THE PRIVATE BANKERS BEFORE THE YEAR 1783.—DEAN SWIFT AND THE POETRY OF BANKING.—ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF THE BANK OF IRELAND: ITS PROFITS UPON THE SUSPENSION OF CASH PAYMENTS.—NUMBER OF PRIVATE BANKS ESTABLISHED UPON THE PAPER SYSTEM, AND RUINOUS CONSEQUENCES THUS PRODUCED.—THE JOINT-STOCK SYSTEM.—THE BELFAST, HIBERNIAN, PROVINCIAL, NATIONAL, AND OTHER JOINT-STOCK BANKS.—GENERAL STATISTICS.—IMPROVEMENTS REQUIRED.

THE banking\* system of a country affects the interest of every man in it to an extent much more direct and influential than is generally supposed. It is no exaggeration to assert, that, where the system is a good one, and consistently practised, every prudent man may hope to prosper in his undertakings: on the other hand, wherever mistaken notions upon the subject prevail, and improper dealings are resorted to, every man's affairs, however prudently administered, will be sure to become, more or less, frequently deranged, and his property sensibly deteriorated. In a word, we are, one and all, comparatively rich or poor, just as our banking system is good or bad.

If this be true of banking generally, it is, in no common degree, true of banking in Ireland, where perverse legislation upon so many other subjects for a long time interfered with

\* Much of the matter of this Chapter appeared in two pamphlets, published in the years 1838 and 1840, under the title of "Remarks upon the Renewal of the Charter of the Bank of Ireland."

the rights of labour and of capital, and oppressed the industry of the nation with unprecedented severity.

The history of banking in Ireland may be conveniently divided into three distinct periods: the first preceded the year 1783, when the Bank of Ireland was chartered; the second ranged from 1783 to 1824, when Joint-stock Banks were established: and the third extends to the present time.

Banks arise where commerce flourishes and money accumulates. The inferiority of Ireland, in point of commerce and wealth, notwithstanding her large resources at the beginning of the last century, is shown in nothing more decidedly than the simple fact, that there was nothing deserving the name of banking business, at that time, in the country. Nor was the little that was then done, well done. Colonel Laurence, who published, in 1682, that odd compound of political economy and religious acerbity, entitled, "*The Interest of Ireland, in its Trade and Wealth, Stated,*" which has been more than once quoted in this work—Colonel Laurence complains of the number of single banks, or exchangers, who had failed within a few years, and estimates the damage they had caused at £50,000. The current coin of the country became so scarce, during the reign of William III., that the manufacturers were obliged to pay their workmen in pieces of tin, and other tokens of supposititious value: even bits of card were put into circulation as substitutes for coin. To alleviate this state of things a patent was granted, about the year 1730, to William Wood, a London hardwareman, empowering him to coin halfpence and farthings, in England, for the use of Ireland, during a term of fourteen years, to the value of £90,000 in the whole. But a charge of fraud was almost immediately raised against Wood: he was accused of issuing a coin far inferior in value to the mint standard it expressed, and his privilege was thought to involve so much injury to trade, and such exorbitant advantages to himself, that the whole nation, roused by the vigour of Dean Swift's genius, under the signature of M. B. Drapier, protested, with one acclaim, against the continuance of an abuse which, ac-

cording to their statement, was sure to bring on general ruin. After various remonstrances to Parliament and the King in council, and some stirring trials for libel, the patent was withdrawn, and Wood's halfpence were totally suppressed.

It is unnecessary to point out how sensibly the want of a good circulating medium must have been felt by the leading men of the country under such circumstances as those which led to Wood's patent. In 1720 there was a panic, a run upon the banks, and some heavy failures. Dean Swift, whose virtuous indignation poured itself forth in prose, when he thought the people were cheated in their copper coin, made merry in verse with the misfortunes of the bankers. His poem, entitled "The Run upon the Bankers, in 1720," blended together sound political economy, the keenest wit, and humorous satire, expressed with admirable plainness.

"The bold encroachers on the deep,  
Gain, by degrees, huge tracts of land;  
Till Neptune, with one general sweep,  
Turns all again to barren strand.

"The multitude's capricious pranks  
Are said to represent the seas,  
Which, breaking *Bankers and the Banks*,  
Resume their own whene'er they please.

"Money, the life-blood of the nation,  
Corrupts and stagnates in the veins,  
Unless a proper *circulation*,  
Its motion and its heat maintains.

\* \* \* \*

"Riches, the wisest monarch sings,  
Make pinions to themselves and fly;  
They fly like bats, with *parchment* wings,  
And *geese* their *silver* plumes supply.

\* \* \* \*

"How will the caitiff wretch be scared,  
When first he finds himself awake,  
At the last trumpet, unprepared,  
And all his *grand account* to make?



“ For, in that universal *call*,  
 Few Bankers will to heaven be mounters,  
 They'll cry—Ye shops *upon us fall*,  
 Conceal and *cover us*, ye counters :

“ When *other* hands the *scales* shall hold,  
 And they, in *men and angels' sight*,  
 Produced with all their bills and gold,  
 Weighed in the balance, and found light.”

The idea of a public bank in Ireland was suggested by the commercial distress of the year 1720. The project formed for the purpose is deserving of notice, because it shows the degree of intelligence prevailing in Ireland, at that period, on matters of political economy, and also because the accounts given of it by Sir J. Sinclair, in his “History of the Revenue,” and Mr. Wakefield, in his “Political Survey,” are slight and incorrect. Its first patrons were the Earl of Abercorn, Lord Boyn, Sir Ralph Gore, Bart., and others, who petitioned the Crown for a Charter in 1720. They proposed, by reason of the great scarcity of silver coin, to raise, on the security of their estates, a joint stock of £500,000, which, as the best means of attaining solidity, they engaged to invest in land,\* and to supply the public with commercial paper at no greater price than five per cent. The application was favourably entertained, and recommended to the notice of Parliament in

\* The idea of a land-bank seems to have been adopted from Laurence, who strongly recommended it in his “Interest of Ireland,” &c., Part II., page 4, where he says, “There is no security in Ireland can be so solvent and satisfactory as land security. Other stocks, though never so great, may be subject to decay, and the creditor not discern it, as hath been too evident in some of the most creditable companies and chief bankers in London; yet a land security may be so settled by law, as it cannot be weakened, in that it will not be in the power of the bankers, in any case, to alienate or encumber their title in those lands, otherwise than by bank credit, since all are personally and equally concerned therein. As, for example: suppose Dublin, being the chief seat of the grand bank, and twenty persons shall secure to each other lands of £200 per annum, by feoffment or statute staple, in trust, on defeasance, for banking security; if any former settlements or statutes be, they will soon be discerned, and there can be no collateral encumbrance on that security. This will be a security to a bank of £4000 per annum, lands being worth twelve years' purchase within ten miles of the city, which will raise a bank security of £48,000.”

the Duke of Bolton's speech from the throne in 1721. The Commons affirmed the proposal, but took care to show that they were not prepared to enter upon any loose, or ill-digested legislation; expressly stating, that, unless the foundation of the Bank was solid, and the regulations strict, it would not contribute to restore the credit, or support the trade of the country. Leave was given to bring in the heads of a bill, which proceeded as far as a Committee, in which it was lost upon a close division.\*

This failure has been hastily ascribed, by some English writers,† to the ignorance of the majority of the Irish House of Commons. But there are reasons for believing that the Commons of Ireland were not so very ignorant of the subject, nor of the wants of their fellow-countrymen, as has been represented. The truth appears to be that the project of a public bank was no sooner broached than it was seized upon—as every other plan for the improvement of the country has, from that day to this, been seized upon, and destroyed—by place-hunters and jobbers, as their proper game; and it was ultimately lost by the corruption which their ill-disguised intrigues revealed at an early stage of the proceedings. Lord Abercorn's petition for a charter was met by a counter application from Lord Forbes and others, who desired to erect a bank with a million capital. The placemen and Government retainers, having a contest before them, began to talk of a consideration for the privilege, and were offered £50,000 by Lord Forbes's party, who also professed their readiness to make their Bank generally useful to Government. Lord Abercorn and his friends, on the other hand, refused to give any money, or to devote the bank they sought to establish to the convenience of Government, sensibly asserting, in express terms, that it was the proper business of Parliament to provide money, as there might be occasion, for the public service; but that individuals offering to perform such an office cannot

\* Journals of Commons of Ireland, 1721.

† Sinclair, "Hist. Rev." Vol. II.; Wakefield, "Political Survey of Ireland," Vol. II.

act consistently with the interests of the nation.\* The two applications were referred to the Lords Justices, who made a report to the Lord Lieutenant distinctly in favour of Abercorn's project. A commission was then issued under the great seal for receiving voluntary subscriptions to establish a bank, to which, upon the amount being raised, a charter was to be granted; but, in the mean time, the House of Commons had taken alarm at the plotting and corruption by which the competition had already been tainted: they feared—and not without reason—that the circumstances of the country did not admit of the establishment of a bank which would discharge its functions independently, and they naturally dreaded the consequences which must ensue, if the circulating medium should come to be at the disposal of the minister of the day. Acting on these impressions they rejected the Bank Bill, and not without some strong declarations of dissatisfaction and alarm.

The proceedings and sentiments recorded upon this occasion have been sharply ridiculed by several writers. Ignorance, violence, and absurdity, are terms frequently applied to the members of the House of Commons, who so emphatically repudiated the first overtures for a state bank in Ireland. But at this distance of time, and with all the improved information which intermediate experience has conferred upon us, there are some considerations, of no common force, to be adduced in favour of the view taken by the decided majority of the Irish Parliament in the year 1721. The spirit and tendency of their determination were in favour of a free trade in banking, restricted by such regulations as the wisdom of Parliament might, from time to time, see fit to introduce. This was no superficial, unwise, and certainly no unconstitutional doctrine. Nearly a century and a quarter has since elapsed. We have seen a succession of private banks, a great state bank, and, lastly, several joint-stock banks in operation; and the sum of our knowledge derived from the transactions in

\* Memorial to Lords Justices, "Appendix CC., Journals to House of Commons," 1721.



which they have been successively engaged, is, that the many ills and great mischief, justly chargeable upon private banks, were not remedied by the institution of a Government bank; that panics and bankruptcies occurred to the full as frequently, and as fatally, after that bank was chartered, as before it was called into existence; that a Government bank is a vicious monopoly, the advantages of which are fully counterbalanced by the evils which it produces; and that the only safety to public and private credit is to be found in an open system, modified as lightly as possible by Parliamentary provisions.

The session of 1722, however, did not close without an Act for securing the public from some of the injuries produced by the defective banking business of the period. The Act 8 Geo. I. c. 14, provided that bankers' unpaid notes should bear interest; that no banker should fraudulently alienate his property; and that real estates, left at his death, should be available for the payment of his notes. This appears to have been the second general enactment connected with banking in Ireland, the first having been the Act 8 Anne, c. 11, passed in 1709, and entitled, "An Act for the better Payment of Inland Bills of Exchange, and making Promissory Notes more obligatory." From that law it would seem that mercantile paper was then in the lowest state in Ireland, for power was given by it to protest *inland*, as well as foreign bills and promissory notes for more than five pounds, upon non-acceptance or non-payment; and the same law was, for the first time, applied to promissory notes and bank notes, which were declared legally transferable, and the usual right of action given in cases of their non-payment. The persons principally engaged in banking, at this juncture, would seem to have been goldsmiths, merchants, and general traders, and the business to have consisted in little more than the deposit of money, for safe keeping, with persons who held a public office for that purpose, and who gave, for moneys so lodged, receipts or promissory notes, payable at a certain date.

The efforts made to better the commerce and currency of

Ireland having been limited to the single Act of Parliament already cited, we are naturally prepared to meet with renewed complaints of the scarcity of silver, and the hindrances thus given to manufacturers and retail trade. These continued to prevail, with more or less strength and frequency, until the year 1735, when the interference of Government was again emphatically called for, and not without reason; for such, we are assured, was the dearth of coin,\* that a single piece was traced at one market, in the north of Ireland, serving the purpose of five successive bargains, and suffering a depreciation of sixpence on each. After the publication of various tracts, and much discussion, during which it was remarked, as rather curious, that the bankers took no part in the argument,† Government promised relief, and, after still further hesitating and delaying, produced, in 1737, a new coinage for Ireland, and settled a scheme of exchange, by which the value of the coin circulating in the country was fixed at a certain rate, which made the English guinea of the value of £1 2s. 9d.; the English shilling, 1s. 1d.; and various foreign coins, in gold and silver, of proportionate amounts, or what were pronounced such, for there were not wanting disputants to maintain that some foreign coins, particularly Spanish and Portuguese, were unfairly depreciated.

If we bear in mind that this was a period during which every one was free to issue not only bank notes, but copper and silver coin,‡ that there was no bankrupt law; and that

\* "For some years past," says Simon ("Essay on Irish Coins," p. 73), A.D. 1727, "the want of small change was so great that several persons in the north, and other parts of the kingdom, were obliged to make copper and silver tokens, which they passed as promissory notes among their workmen, customers, and neighbours; those of copper for twopence, and those of silver for threepence. The inscription on the first is, *I promise to pay the bearer twopence*; and on the other, *I promise to pay the bearer threepence*; and each has the name of the person who issued them, with the place of his abode."

† "Proposals Humbly offered to Parliament for the Restoration of Cash and Public Credit;" 8vo. Dublin, 1759. The writer was of opinion that the coal trade, which was then paid in money, and was estimated at £60,000 a year, was a principal cause of the drain of coin from Ireland.

‡ "In Dublin, Mr. James Maculla, a brazier, issued a very neat copper

when a bank failed, the slow and uncertain process of a special Act of Parliament was required to wind up its affairs, in case the improvident establishment left a wreck behind worth the cost of salvage; we shall probably be surprised to find that, proceeding from the year 1720 as our starting point, we have no record of a bank breaking until 1732, when Meade and Curtis stopped payment, and the Act 5 Geo. II. c. 23, passed for the relief of their creditors. Two years afterwards, Burton and Falkener, established in 1720, failed, and gave occasion for the Act 7 Geo. II. c. 26. For some twenty years or so longer the tide of monetary affairs flowed muddily on without any extraordinary shock or violence; but, in 1753, undoubted signs of a coming storm became discernible. Exchange fell three per cent. below par, and the House of Commons instituted inquiries which led to a declaration upon its part, that the paper in circulation far exceeded the capital of those who issued it, and also the just proportion which the quantity current ought to bear to the national specie. Importing merchants, it was asserted, obtained credit without having property, and, by forcing trade, increased the receipts of the Treasury, while they were really diminishing the wealth of the kingdom.\* This exposure doubtless led to the heavy bankruptcies that quickly followed. In March, 1754, Dillon and Farrell's bank closed, and, during the same month of the year following, Wilcox and Dawson failed; and the partners in the firm of Lennox and French absconded. Distinct Acts of Parliament passed for the settlement of these reverses, but public and private credit continued to droop amidst the consternation of all classes. In 1757 the Duke of Bedford obtained the King's Letter to spend £20,000 to relieve the wants of the people, but the evil was too deeply seated to be removed by any largess however liberal. In the year 1760 the whole country was reduced to one level ruin. Three banks failed in

penny and halfpenny, having on one side this inscription: *I promise to pay the bearer on demand twenty-pence for these*; and on the reverse, *Cash notes, val. received, 1729: James Maculla, one penny, or halfpenny.*" —Simon, "Essay on Irish Coins," p. 73.

\* Journals, Vol. IX., pp. 818 to 865.



Dublin—Clement's, Dawson's, and Mitchell's—and three that remained solvent refused to discount a bill. All monetary transactions ceased, and a dead stop was put to every description of business: ultimately only two banks were left in Dublin, namely, Messrs. Latouche's, and Gleddowes', afterwards Newcomen's. Public meetings were held, Parliament was petitioned, and the decay of manufactures and the sunken credit of the nation were piteously set forth, and eloquently deplored. The merchants of Dublin held a meeting and declared their inability to carry on business, not from any want of property upon their part, but in consequence of the refusal of the remaining banks to discount their bills. A Committee of Inquiry having been appointed by the House of Commons, it was resolved, that the complainants had proved their case, and that the quantity of paper in circulation (in consequence of the bankruptcies, it is to be presumed) was not sufficient to support the trade and manufactures of the kingdom. Therefore it was proposed, and ultimately agreed, that Parliament should undertake to support the still subsisting banks to the amount of £50,000 each. Bankers' notes were also received, by virtue of a special proclamation, as cash, from the contractors to a loan which Government was then raising, and thus a temporary succour was extended to the general distress.

Various theories were propounded to account for these misfortunes. The author of the "*Commercial Restraints of Ireland Considered*,"\* a well-informed and moderate writer, points to the rapid growth of the public debt, and the profligate expenditure of the Government, as a main cause of the evil. The debt of Ireland, which, in 1715, was only £16,106 11s. 0½*d.*, had augmented, in two years, to £91,537 17s. 1½*d.*, and the expenses of Government went on increasing, in a corresponding degree, for years after. Another authority, already quoted,† asserts, that the derangement consequent upon the depreciated exchange, fixed

\* Dublin, 8vo., 1779.

† "Proposals, &c., for the Restoration of Cash," 8vo., Dublin, 1759.

by Government, in 1737, on Spanish and Portuguese money, had mainly tended to produce the existing state of things. From this circumstance the writer in question derived the cause and commencement of the many private bankruptcies that had occurred, the decline of public business, and the bankruptcy of the nation. The proprietors of the three banks last insolvent, he asserts, were in no age or country, perhaps, equalled for approved integrity, distinguished honour, station, and substance. They failed, he contended, not from want of property, but because there was not a supply of coin in the country to meet its wants. The banks had land and bonds enough, he argued, to meet their obligations, but could not call in a sufficient quantity of coin for the purpose, the coin, in point of fact, not being in the kingdom.\*

Still matters did not mend: there was another panic in 1770, and the Lord Lieutenant, nobility, principal gentry, and merchants, found it necessary to come forward and publish a declaration, in which they pledged themselves to take the notes of Messrs. Latouche, Messrs. Gleddowes and Newcomen, Messrs. Findlay and Co., and Messrs. Dawson, Coates, and Lawless—then the bankers in Dublin.† During the same year a bankruptcy law was passed, for the first time, in Ireland, and thus closes all that the progress of banking in that country offers for observation previous to the institution of the Bank of Ireland.

The years 1782, 1783, and 1784 are respectively assigned, in the more accessible authorities, as the periods at which the Bank of Ireland was formed. The differences in these dates are reconcileable with ease. The Bank was founded in 1782,

\* According to this writer, the stated rate of exchange, in 1760, was eightpence-halfpenny, and the balance of trade with England, in favour of Ireland, for one-third of the year, and the other way the remaining two-thirds of the year.

† One bank had started in 1758, and failed during the same year, after a butterfly existence of four months. And yet this was a bank of great names—for its partners were the Right Hon. Anthony Malone, the Right Hon. Nathaniel Clements, and John Gore, Esq.—whose practice was to give receipts for money deposited, payable seven days after demand, with interest, to commence three days after the date of the receipt, at the rate of tenpence a week for every £100.

by the Act 21 & 22 Geo. III. c. 16; a charter, more fully descriptive of its privileges, dated in May, 1783, fixed January 1, 1784, as the day on which all previous subscribers were to be erected into a corporation, under the style of the Governor and Company of the Bank of Ireland; that, however, had actually opened for business in June, 1783. The original capital was £600,000 Irish, and it was lent to the Government, at four per cent. The Bank of England, which claimed a far earlier origin, in 1694, was made the model of the new establishment. The project, at first, was so little popular, that it was not carried into effect without some delay and difficulty. The subscription list lay open and unfilled for a year and a half; and, ultimately, £100 shares were said to have been allotted for £60; nevertheless, a dividend of five per cent. was realized at the end of the first half-year. This first charter was limited to January 1, 1794; but, in 1791, it was extended by the Act 31 Geo. III. c. 22, to the expiration of twelve months' notice after January, 1816: at the same time the Company was authorized to augment its capital to one million. The additional £400,000 were not lent to Government, but the Bank paid £60,000 as the price of the boon. The Government had now become involved with the Bank; and new bargains followed fast. By the 37 Geo. III. c. 50, the capital was raised to £1,500,000; and soon again, by the 48th Geo. III. c. 103, to £2,500,000. This Act continued the charter to January 1, 1837, and *so long after as twelve months' notice of the intention to terminate it shall not have been given, and all sums due by Government to the Bank shall not have been repaid*. In 1821, the negotiations which ultimately led to the introduction of Joint-stock Banks in Ireland, enabled the Directors to add another half-million to the capital of the Company. The Act 1 & 2 Geo. IV. c. 72, ratified this agreement; so that the capital of the Bank of Ireland amounts, at present, to £3,000,000 Irish, of which £2,630,769 British are on loan to Government.

This summary may suffice for general readers; but, as there will probably remain others, who may desire more de-



tailed information, the Parliamentary statements of the bank itself, upon the several points just adverted to, are subjoined as they appear in the Appendix to the Report from the Commons' Select Committee on Joint-stock Banks, 1837, page 124.

“ABSTRACT of the ACTS OF PARLIAMENT relating to the Rights and Privileges of the Governor and Company of the Bank of Ireland.

“1782. 21 & 22 Geo. III. c. 16, Irish Parliament.

“The charter of the Bank of Ireland was granted in pursuance of this Act, redeemable on the expiration of twelve months' notice to be given after 1st January, 1794, and on repayment by Parliament to the Bank of the sum advanced to Government under the Act, viz. £600,000 Irish, being the original bank capital.

“1791. By 31 Geo. III. c. 22, the said charter was extended or renewed until the expiration of twelve months' notice to be given after 1st January, 1816, and on repayment of the aforesaid £600,000 Irish, and all interest due thereon.

“This Act authorized an increase of £400,000 Irish to the bank capital, by subscription, which was subscribed accordingly, but not advanced to Government.

“It also enacted, that, in consideration of the power given to increase the bank capital, the Bank should pay to government a sum agreed on with the Lord Lieutenant; and the sum of £60,000 Irish was accordingly paid, in two instalments.

“1797. By 37 Geo. III. c. 50, the Bank was authorized to increase its capital, by subscription, in the further sum of £500,000 Irish; and the same was advanced to Government.

“1808. By 48 Geo. III. c. 103, the bank capital was increased in the further sum of £1,000,000 Irish. The sum of £1,250,000 Irish was advanced to Government, and the charter was extended or renewed until the expiration of twelve months' notice to be given after the 1st day of January, 1837. By this Act, the bank consented to continue the management of the then public debt in Ireland, and of all future loans to be thenceforth made for the service of Ireland, *free of charge*, during the continuance of their charter.

“1821. By 1 & 2 Geo. IV. c. 72, the Bank was authorized to increase its capital in the further sum of £500,000 Irish, making the whole £3,000,000 Irish; and the said sum of £500,000 Irish was advanced to Government. By this Act, Bank of Ireland notes were agreed to be received in payment of the Government revenue; and the Bank consented to a restriction of its privileges (previously secured, till 1838, by the Act of 1808), so far as to permit banking companies and co-partnerships, consisting of more than six persons in number, residing and having their

houses of business at a greater distance than fifty miles from Dublin, to issue notes, payable on demand, without that distance. And it was expressly enacted, that no further privilege should be granted to any co-partnership or society of persons whatever, previously to 1st January, 1838, contrary to the provisions of the Bank Acts then in force, save the privilege, to such co-partnerships, of suing and being sued in the name of a public officer, should Parliament think fit to grant such authority.

“R. CULLEY, Accountant-General.

“Bank of Ireland, 1st March, 1837.”

The capital thus created is separately distinguished at page 143 of the same Appendix, in

“AN ACCOUNT of the VARIATIONS which have taken place in the Amount of the CAPITAL of the BANK OF IRELAND at different periods.

1782. Original Subscription	.	.	£ 600,000 Irish.
1791. Addition	.	.	400,000
1797. Addition	.	.	500,000
1808. Addition	.	.	1,000,000
1821. Addition	.	.	500,000

£3,000,000 late Irish currency.

£2,769,230 15s. 5d. British.

“R. CULLEY, Accountant-General.

“Bank of Ireland, March 1, 1837.”

At page 150, again, we have

“AN ACCOUNT, showing the Amount due by Government to the BANK OF IRELAND, for Bank Capital advanced to Government, and the Annual Amount and Rate of Interest received for the same; also the Periods of the several Advances composing that Amount; the Terms of their Redemption, and the Variations in the Annual Amount and Rate of Interest received for the same.

1836. Dec. 31. The total amount of Bank of Ireland	£	s.	d.
capital advanced to Government, is . . .	2,630,769	4	8
And the annual interest received for same is	115,384	12	2
<i>viz.</i> —			
£1,015,384 12s. 4d., held at 5 per cent.			
per annum . . . . .	50,769	4	8
£1,615,384 12s. 4d. . . . . 4 do. do.	64,615	7	6
	£115,384	12	2”

The Acts which have passed, since the date of this return, relating to the Bank of Ireland, are some of a merely formal character, postponing, temporarily, all legislation upon the subject; beginning with the Act 1 & 2 Vict. c. 8, and the Act 8 & 9 Vict. c. 37, under which the trade of banking in Ireland now stands regulated in its main proceedings. By this law the Bank of Ireland very properly lost the privilege of being the only Bank of issue in Dublin, and within a circle of 50 miles distance; the interest upon the debt due to it by Government was equalized, and reduced to a rate of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. per annum, and the public business was undertaken without any charge for the future, while the period for dissolving the Bank was postponed, subject to the old conditions, to January 10, 1855.

In addition to the ordinary business of bankers, this corporation is empowered to sell any goods, wares, and merchandizes whatsoever, deposited with it for money lent, and not repaid within three months after the time agreed upon: but, though thus chartered to advance money on goods, in aid of commerce, the Bank has not been known to have ever used that privilege. It is further empowered, not only to take pawns and other securities for money lent or advanced, but, contrary to all principles of legitimate banking, to receive, purchase, and retain landed property, and to sell lands, or goods the produce of the lands, in its possession. These have been viewed and condemned as more extended and indefensible privileges than any conceded to the Bank of England.

The restraints imposed upon the Bank of Ireland have at no time been either numerous or severe. It was forbidden to lend or borrow money at more than five per cent. interest, under a penalty of three times the amount; it was only authorized to borrow money to the extent of its capital; and, by the original charter, the private property of the copartners, in proportion to their subscriptions, was made liable to the creditors, in the event of debts being contracted by the Bank



beyond the amount of the capital. Slight as these restrictions were, the Bank has broken through them. According to their own showing, the directors have repeatedly exceeded in their issues the amount limited in the charter: they have also discounted at six per cent., and have been fortunate enough to escape actions for the penalties so incurred.

In the year 1797, an Act of Parliament exempted the Bank of Ireland, like the Bank of England, from paying in gold. The circulation of the Bank of Ireland then amounted to no more than £621,917; but in 1808 it had attained the average of £2,827,000; and thence proceeded, still rapidly rising in amount, until the average, in 1809, was £3,068,100; in 1810, £3,157,300; in 1813, £4,212,600; in 1821, £5,182,600; and in 1825, £6,309,300. These details are taken from a return, too long for insertion, but furnished to the House of Commons by the Bank itself, and printed in page 138 of the Appendix to the Report from the Select Committee on Joint-stock Banks, in 1837. It is to be observed that the years 1810, 1820, and 1825, during which the average circulation was higher than it had previously been, are registered periods of great panic and deep commercial distress. Those who are conversant with the wild vicissitudes of our monetary system, will probably be induced to fix upon the facts just recited as strong evidence to show that the Bank of Ireland, like the Bank of England, is directly chargeable with the fault of having greatly provoked, if not of having immediately produced, the disasters alluded to. But, however other persons may have suffered, the Irish Bank proprietors were in the uninterrupted enjoyment of high fortune. In 1797, the first of the years we have mentioned, the dividend was six and a half per cent. on the capital stock of the Bank; and no sooner was the restriction from cash payments declared, than the copartners received a bonus of £125,000. In 1803, the dividend was seven and a half, and the bonus £75,000, being five per cent. on the capital; and a bonus thence continued to be given almost yearly, until 1815, when the dividend

rose to ten per cent.\* In 1821 a bonus of £500,000 was declared; in 1830 the dividend declined to nine per cent.; and to eight per cent. in 1837, at which rate the dividend for 1848 was doubled.

The Return laid before Parliament in 1837 of these dividends and bonuses is a striking document.

“AN ACCOUNT of all DISTRIBUTIONS made by the BANK OF IRELAND amongst the Proprietors of Bank Stock, including Dividends, Bonus, and Increase of Capital, from 1783 to 1836.—Report, 1837, Appendix, pp. 142, 143.

(All Amounts to January, 1826, Irish Currency; subsequently, British.)

	CAPITAL.	Ann. Amount of Dividend.	Rate per cent. per annum of Dividend.	Bonuses.	Rate per cent. of Bo- nuses.
	(Irish currency.)				
1783	£600,000	$\frac{1}{2}$ yr. £15,000	£5 per cent.		
1784	600,000	30,000	5 —		
1785	600,000	34,500	5 $\frac{1}{2}$ —		
1786	600,000	36,000	6 —		
1787	600,000	36,000	6 —		
1788	600,000	36,000	6 —		
1789	600,000	36,000	6 —		
1790	600,000	36,000	6 —		
1791	600,000	33,000	5 $\frac{1}{2}$ —		

\* The 1821 bonus of £500,000 was said to have enabled the directors, a privileged few, to make large sums, at the expense of the community and the great body of their own shareholders. By the constitution and practice of the bank, at that time, no accounts were rendered to the partners at the stated half-yearly meetings, or published in the Gazette, by which a judgment could be formed either of the propriety of the dividend proposed, or of surplus profits remaining after the dividend was struck. On this, as on other occasions of the same kind, the directors alone could discover how soon the accumulation of profits rendered a bonus nearly certain. They and their friends were charged with operating upon the market—buying, selling, and jobbing; the consequence of which would be, that by as much as their fellow-proprietors sold their stock at a low price, in ignorance of the coming bonus, the directors and their friends, who purchased, would benefit by their knowledge of the facts. A remarkable instance of this occurred upon the declaration of the bonus in 1821: so profound was the secret kept, that none but the directors knew it till the day of meeting. All through January, before the bonus was declared or hinted at, the price of Bank of Ireland stock in the Dublin money market was steady, at £213 or £213 $\frac{1}{2}$  per share; but, early in February, it leaped up to £226; and, in October, was £239 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; which would give a profit to the director, or his friend in the secret, making an intermediate purchase, of £26 10s. a share.

	CAPITAL.	Amount of Dividend.	Rate per cent. per annum of Dividend.	Bonuses.	Rate per cent. of Bonuses.
	(Irish currency.)				
1792	{ £600,000	$\frac{1}{2}$ yr. £16,500	£2 $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.		
	{ 840,000	$\frac{1}{2}$ yr. 22,050	2 $\frac{5}{8}$ —		
1793	{ 840,000	$\frac{1}{2}$ yr. 22,050	2 $\frac{5}{8}$ —		
	{ 1,000,000	$\frac{1}{2}$ yr. 26,250	2 $\frac{5}{8}$ —		
1794	1,000,000	55,000	5 $\frac{1}{2}$ —		
1795	1,000,000	60,000	6 —		
1796	1,000,000	65,000	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ —		
1797	{ 1,000,000	$\frac{1}{2}$ yr. 32,500	3 $\frac{1}{4}$ —	£ 125,000	25 per cent. on increase.
	{ 1,500,000	$\frac{1}{2}$ yr. 48,750	3 $\frac{1}{4}$ —		
1798	1,500,000	97,500	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ —		
1799	1,500,000	97,500	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ —		
1800	1,500,000	105,000	7 —		
1801	1,500,000	108,750	7 $\frac{1}{4}$ —		
1802	1,500,000	112,500	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ —		
1803	1,500,000	112,500	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ —	75,000	5 per cent. on capital.
1804	1,500,000	112,500	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ —		
1805	1,500,000	112,500	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ —	75,000	5 per cent.
1806	1,500,000	112,500	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ —	37,500	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ —
1807	1,500,000	112,500	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ —	37,500	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ —
1808	1,500,000	112,500	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ — *		
1809	2,500,000	187,500	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ —	62,500	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ —
1810	2,500,000	187,500	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ —	62,500	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ —
1811	2,500,000	187,500	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ —	62,500	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ —
1812	2,500,000	187,500	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ —	62,500	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ —
1813	2,500,000	187,500	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ —	62,500	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ —
1814	2,500,000	187,500	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ —	62,500	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ —
1815	2,500,000	250,000	10 —		
1816	2,500,000	250,000	10 —		
1817	2,500,000	250,000	10 —		
1818	2,500,000	250,000	10 —		
1819	2,500,000	250,000	10 —		
1820	2,500,000	250,000	10 —		
1821	{ 2,500,000	$\frac{1}{2}$ yr. 125,000	5 — $\frac{1}{2}$ yr.	} 500,000	20 per cent. increase of capital.
	{ 3,000,000	$\frac{1}{2}$ yr. 150,000	5 — $\frac{1}{2}$ yr.		
1822	3,000,000	300,000	10 —		
1823	3,000,000	300,000	10 —		
1824	3,000,000	300,000	10 —		
1825	3,000,000	300,000	10 —		
	(British currency.)				
1826	2,769,230	276,923	10 —		
1827	2,769,230	276,923	10 —		
1828	2,769,230	276,923	10 —		
1829	2,769,230	276,923	10 —		
1830	2,769,230	249,230	9 —		
1831	2,769,230	249,230	9 —		
1832	2,769,230	249,230	9 —		
1833	2,769,230	249,230	9 —		
1834	2,769,230	249,230	9 —		
1835	2,769,230	249,230	9 —		
1836	2,769,230	235,384	8 $\frac{1}{2}$ —		

\* £250,000 paid as premium on additional stock by Proprietors, being 25 per cent. on increase.

"R. CULLEY, Accountant-General.

"Bank of Ireland, 1 March, 1837."



These outlines of the progress of the transactions of the Bank of Ireland suggest one or two further remarks, to which it may be as well to draw attention, while the data from which they are derived are immediately before us. The original capital was £600,000; its present capital is £3,000,000, late Irish currency, which is equal to £2,769,230 15s. 5d. present money. Of this large addition it would appear, from the accounts before Parliament, as if only two sums, £600,000 and £400,000 have been paid up by the proprietors: the remainder, in that case, must have come out of profits. This is the only inference to be drawn from the abstract of the Bank of Ireland Acts of Parliament and Accounts, already quoted from the Appendix to the Report of 1837: for that document sets out the dates of the successive Acts, together with the additions to the capital authorized to be made in each instance; and states that, in 1791, the additional capital authorized by 31 Geo. III. c. 22, was "*subscribed accordingly, but not lent to Government.*" In all the other instances, however, it is not said that the additional capital *was subscribed*, though it is stated that it *was lent* to Government. The inference, therefore, is, that there was no contribution of money on the part of the proprietors, but that stock was created out of profits, surplus, or Government moneys on hand, equal to the sum actually lent to Government. In this view of the case, two out of the three millions, forming the capital of the Bank of Ireland, are profits; and thus the total gains acquired by this monopoly would stand as follow:—

Additional Capital, created as above . . . .	£2,000,000
Annual dividends, as per returns, to 1836 . . . .	8,775,306
Declared bonuses, ditto ditto . . . .	1,225,000
Investments in securities, gold, and silver . . . .	7,634,100
	<hr/>
	£19,634,406
	<hr/>

The data for these items are to be found at pages 142, 143, and 149 of the Appendix to the Report already quoted, for 1837.

The Parliamentary Returns referred to enable us to exhibit,

in a narrow compass, the more important operations of the Bank of Ireland. In the first place, its assets in the year 1837 amounted to seven millions, of which there were employed, in Dublin, £1,100,000, and in the country, £1,400,000: only two-and-a-half, therefore, out of seven millions, were devoted to the business of banking throughout Ireland. The large sum remaining was locked up in profitable investments. This state of things is exemplified in detail in a Return at page 142 of the Appendix to the Report, 1837, which specifies the resources from which the Bank derives its profits. They are these:—

AN ACCOUNT of the PROFITS of the BANK OF IRELAND, Year ending 30th June, 1836; stating the Description of Securities held by the BANK, and the sources from which the said PROFITS have arisen.

Interest on bills discounted	£111,423
Interest on Exchequer Bills	71,335
Interest on Government Stock	19,377
Interest on Government Terminable Annuities	36,940
Interest on loans and advances	4,684
Interest on capital received from Government	115,384
Sundries received for commission, fees on Bank Stock	
Transfers, surplus of fund provided for costs of build- ings at Agencies, &c., &c.	10,077
	<hr/> £369,220 <hr/>

Bank of Ireland, 1st March, 1837.

It is thus manifest that, in this year, the Bank made only £111,423 by banking, and £257,797 by other means.

With the large income possessed by the Bank of Ireland a liberal establishment is kept, which comprises several offices of great respectability and emolument. The net annual profits in 1836 were £245,360, and the expenditure £104,490, of which £52,641 went in salaries and pensions. A sum of £5077 is appropriated annually by the directors. In 1803, the governor and deputy-governor were allowed only £150 each, and the directors £100 each, which made £1600 for the whole. Their successors appear to have increased their own pay nearly fourfold. The following are the Parliamentary Documents which verify these statements:—

AN ACCOUNT of the TOTAL EXPENSES of the BANK OF IRELAND for Four Years, ending June, 1836, exclusive of Dividends on Bank Stock, Amounts paid for Stamp Duty, and Losses sustained by Frauds and Forgeries on Transfers of Government Stock.

1833	.	.	.	.	.	.	£111,540
1834	.	.	.	.	.	.	111,901
1835	.	.	.	.	.	.	114,218
1836	.	.	.	.	.	.	104,490

Report, 1837, Appendix III. p. 142.

AN ACCOUNT of the Amounts of NET ANNUAL PROFIT of the BANK OF IRELAND in the Years ending 30th June, 1833, 1834, 1835, and 1836, out of which interest is to be paid on the Capital Stock.

1833	.	.	.	.	.	.	£251,826
1834	.	.	.	.	.	.	250,502
1835	.	.	.	.	.	.	241,183
1836	.	.	.	.	.	.	245,360

Report, 1837, Appendix III. p. 142.

AN ACCOUNT of the EXPENSES of the BANK OF IRELAND for the Year ending 30th June, 1836, divided under several heads, as nearly as same can be made out.

Salaries and pensions	.	.	.	.	.	£52,641
Contingent expenses, Dublin	.	.	.	.	.	8,666
Rent, Dublin	.	.	.	.	.	8,000
Rent and Contingencies at Agencies	.	.	.	.	.	6,772
Salaries to directors	.	.	.	.	.	5,077
Bank-note paper, and contingent expenses in printing-office	.	.	.	.	.	1,396
Annual payment to Government	.	.	.	.	.	2,067
Ditto to a Government officer	.	.	.	.	.	80
Lost by fraudulent transfers of Government Stock	.	.	.	.	.	5,520

£90,219

Report, 1837, Appendix III. p. 141.

There is then, at least, one bright spot in the history of banking in Ireland—that, namely, which shows the large gains acquired by the Bank of Ireland in Dublin. But the rest of the picture embraces the whole country, and it is all over-shaded and dark. The monopolists luxuriated in wealth for a lengthened term; meanwhile the trade of Ireland was convulsed by fearful embarrassments, and the people were tortured by acute distress. Unquestionably, not a few of the complicated evils thus evolved are to be directly traced to the board-room of the Bank itself. It was the example set by that establishment, in creating immense quantities of paper money, that taught and prompted the private banks of Ire-



land to pursue the same reckless course. The calamitous effects of this utter disregard of the national interests are clearly described by Sir H. Parnell in "Observations on Paper Money":—

"These increased issues," says that unexceptionable authority, "led to corresponding increased issues by the private banks, of which the number was fifty in the year 1804. The consequence of this increase of paper was a great depreciation of it. The price of bullion and guineas rose to ten per cent. above the Mint price; and the exchange with London became as high as eighteen per cent., the par being eight and one-third. This unfavourable exchange was afterwards corrected; not by any reduction in the issues of the Bank of Ireland, but by the depreciation of the British currency in the year 1810, when the exchange between London and Dublin settled again at about par.

"The loss that Ireland has sustained by the failure of Banks may be described in a few words. It appears, by the Report of the Committee on Irish Exchanges, in 1804, that there were at that time, in Ireland, fifty registered banks. Since that year a great many more have been established; but *the whole have failed*, one after the other, involving the country from time to time in immense distress, with the following exceptions:—first, a few that withdrew from business; secondly, four banks in Dublin; thirdly, three at Belfast; and, lastly, one at Mallow."

Even these few exceptions have been further diminished since the publication of the "Observations" from which this quotation has been taken. The Mallow Bank of Messrs. Delacour failed: of the four private banks then in Dublin only two exist at present; while the three Belfast banks have been converted into joint-stock enterprises, respectively named—the Northern, the Belfast, and the Ulster Banking Companies.

The information elicited by the Committee of 1804, to which Sir H. Parnell refers, was highly instructive. It was then proved in evidence that, before the Bank of Ireland entered upon its new and unrestrained trade in paper money, in March, 1797,\* the exchange was, and had for a long time previously been, in favour of Ireland.

\* "Report on the Circulating Paper, Specie, Current Coin, and Exchange of Ireland," pp. 7 and 8. Ordered to be printed, May and June, 1804; and reprinted, May, 1826.

The exchange began to rise in 1799, and the circulation of the Bank of Ireland was *concomitant*, and *extended* with it. Upon comparing the issues of the Bank of Ireland with the rates of exchange, a strong presumption arises of the connection between an increased issue and a high exchange: for, in

March, 1797, the paper of the Bank was between £600,000 and £700,000; and exchange in Dublin,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  to  $6\frac{3}{4}$ .

April, 1801, paper was	.	.	£2,266,000
and exchange rose from $11\frac{3}{4}$ to 13.			
January 1, 1804, paper was	.	.	£2,986,999
and exchange rose to 17 and 18.			

This Committee hesitated to assert that the evidence before it *clearly* proved that this increase of Bank of Ireland paper facilitated or encouraged the increased issues from private banks. The members deemed it necessary, however, to call the attention of the House to some remarkable facts, which, as they observed, afforded some proof that both the cause and consequence really and truly were as had been suggested.

In the year ending March 25, 1800, the number of bankers issuing notes in Ireland was	.	.	.	.	.	11
January, 1801	.	.	.	.	.	23
„ 1802	.	.	.	.	.	29
„ 1803	.	.	.	.	.	30
„ 1804	.	.	.	.	.	40

Again, the number of notes paying duty, in the like periods, was,

	$1\frac{1}{2}d.*$	$3d.*$	$4d.*$
1800	148,112	198,361	104,248
1801	245,673	147,211	65,201
1802	941,894	196,108	95,600
1803	823,673	204,940	67,594
1804	1,110,217	256,801	90,265

The Committee indulged in no strained inference from this

\* The existing law required all notes under three guineas to be issued on a  $1\frac{1}{2}d.$  stamp; under £10, on a  $3d.$  stamp; under £50, on a  $4d.$  stamp.

state of things, when it maintained that the high rate of exchange against Ireland at the periods quoted was “a sufficient presumptive proof of the depreciation of paper; and that this depreciation was in itself also a strong presumptive proof of an over quantity of paper being in circulation.”

Strange and improbable as the principal incidents in the history of banking in Ireland, antecedent to the chartering of the national establishment in 1783, must appear, they are infinitely surpassed in wildness and inconsistency by the chance medley produced by subsequent events. Not only before the Bank monopoly was created, but even before the suspension of cash payments, the business of banking in Ireland was principally confined to Dublin. There were not, in 1797, more than half-a-dozen banks\* in the south of Ireland, and none in the north or west; but after that year almost every place had its bank, and every conceivable mode and device for circulating money were resorted to. For instance, Wexford, a small town, which, even in 1821, had a population of only 8326 inhabitants, and a proportionately limited trade, had, between the years 1800 and 1804, no less than seven banks. The fate of such commercial establishments will be conjectured at once:—five failed rather quickly, and one gave up business. Two new ones immediately started to fill the vacuum thus created, which soon after shared the fate of their predecessors. Of the whole number, only one, that of the Messrs. Redmond, conducted business with honour and profit. It was the earliest of the Wexford banks, and about the last private bank that existed in a provincial town in Ireland.

New Ross, again, a smaller town than Wexford, and not more than twenty miles from it, had four banks, only one of which was standing in 1812, and even that afterwards gave way. Similar instances, in abundance, are to be cited in various other places; but the repetition would be tiresome.

\* Namely, three in Dublin, three in Cork, one in Clonmel, one in Limerick, and one in Waterford.—*Lords' Committee on Circulation, &c.*, 1826, Evidence of J. Roche, Esq., p. 52.



The wild growth of these mushroom establishments has been already described from the Commons Report of 1804, which shows that eleven banks, in 1800, had become twenty-three, in 1801; twenty-nine, in 1802; thirty, in 1803; and fifty, in 1804. In 1812, Mr. Wakefield published his "Political Survey of Ireland," and stated that, of the fifty banks, in 1804, there then remained only nineteen extant. One adverse circumstance or other had swept away the rest. Notwithstanding this sharp warning, new speculators had rushed into the field with as little prudence as fear, so that, notwithstanding the failure of thirty-one out of fifty banks, between 1804 and 1812, only six years, there were still thirty-three banks open in 1812.

These adventurers resorted to expedients of all kinds for the purpose of forcing a trade. They supplied small traders with their notes, and used to pay a premium to get them into circulation. The bankers themselves were in the habit of attending markets and fairs like so many hucksters, each putting off his own commodity as best he might. Their favourite issue was not promissory notes, but post bills, at ten days' sight, which, being generally unaccepted, were paid, if at all, at convenience. But the mischief did not rest with the multitude of bankers. Besides the fifty private firms already spoken of, there were as many as 295 petty dealers and chapmen, grocers, spirit dealers, apothecaries, and shopkeepers of all sorts, inundating the country with a species of I O U, called silver money, which was a direct violation of the law, and ranged in nominal amount from threepence-halfpenny to ten shillings.\* This fraudulent paper was principally spread over the south and south-west of Ireland, which further suffered an enormous distribution of forged notes, the unlettered population being, in that respect, easily imposed upon. In the north a more cautious and better informed people eschewed these evils for some time, and insisted upon a cir-

\* Take, as a matter of curiosity, the following extract from a return, Appendix N., p. 156, to the Report on Circulating Paper, 1804, showing the number and description of persons issuing bank notes and silver

ulation of guineas,\* which they amassed and retained to a large amount, until the suspension of cash payment by Act of Parliament, and the tardy introduction of banks into Belfast, so recently as the year 1808, gradually drove all gold out of the country.

At this period, 1804, guineas bore a premium of ten per cent., and the rate of exchange was £17 12s., or £9 5s. 4d. against Ireland; but, though formal censure and public exposure were tried, they failed to mitigate the exorbitant evils which accompanied the Bank monopoly. The Report of the Committee, already quoted, exhibited, in the most direct

notes in a single town—that of Youghal, which, in 1821, only contained a population of 8969 :—

G. and R. Giles	.	.	{ Registered Bankers, issue silver
			notes and post bills.
Samuel Allen	.	.	Merchant, small I O U.
Samuel Johnson	.	.	Shopkeeper.
James Johnson	.	.	Stationer.
Shyrl Sydley	.	.	Grocer.
Robert Christian	.	.	Grocer.
Patrick O'Neil	.	.	Hardware Shop.
Edward Walsh	.	.	Baker.
Shap Graves	.	.	Cornfactor.
Thomas Jones	.	.	Grocer.
Thomas Bateman	.	.	Shopkeeper.
John Roch	.	.	Grocer.
Joseph Bateman	.	.	Grocer.
John Howell	.	.	Chandler.
Thomas Brown	.	.	Grocer.
John Tanner	.	.	Cabinet-maker.
Mary Walsh	.	.	Baker.
Patrick Barry	.	.	Grocer.
Nicholas Marks	.	.	Shoemaker and Spirit Retailer.
Thomas Gimblet	.	.	Grocer.
Matthew Harman	.	.	Grocer and Spirit Retailer.
Thomas Harlow	.	.	Linen-draper.
William Pearce	.	.	Woolcomber.
Michael Walsh	.	.	Grocer and Spirit Retailer.

Or one firm issuing post notes, and twenty-three shopkeepers issuing silver notes, of from six shillings to threepence-halfpenny each.

\* "In the north of Ireland there is a strong disposition to resist the admission of paper. The linen manufacturers purchase gold and silver before the linen markets open, and have two prices, a gold price and a silver price."—*Carr's Stranger in Ireland*, 1806. See, also, Wakefield's "Political Survey," vol. ii. chap. 16.

manner possible, and upon the most unexceptionable authority, the abuses committed by the Bank of Ireland, up to that period, in the manufacture of paper money; but the Bank, instead of taking the reproof as a warning, acted upon it as an encouragement to persevere, and nearly trebled, in the short term of sixteen years, the sum of the mischief it had been denounced for producing. In 1810, its circulation rose to more than £3,000,000, and there was a panic; in 1820, it exceeded £5,000,000, and there was another panic. Then began an accumulative series of those rapid failures which seem to be known to no other country, and which spread indescribable calamity and consternation over the whole surface of the island. In the month of June the banking firm of Roche and Co., of Cork, failed; and, on the same morning, that of Leslie and Co. suspended payment in the same city. By the next Saturday, Messrs. Maunsell, of Limerick, had closed their doors. These embarrassments were quickly followed by the stoppage of Messrs. Riall, at Clonmel; Sause, at Carrick-on-Suir; Newport, at Waterford; Loughnan, at Kilkenny; Alexander, at Dublin; until, within a single month, eleven banks had broken, and in the whole south of Ireland, as previously stated, there remained open only three houses—Messrs. Delacour, at Mallow; Redmond, at Wexford; and Pike, at Cork.\*

It was the character, more than the number, of these bankruptcies that made them lamentable: the sums for which

\* Severe as the distress of all classes was, at this juncture, it gave rise to some ludicrous incidents. While it lasted, a gentleman in Cork wanted a leg of lamb, and offered a five-pound note for it, which was refused. In Limerick, a country gentleman, with £1500 a year, had sent invitations out for a dinner party the week the banks broke, and considered himself most fortunate on finding, amongst his notes, one Bank of Ireland note for ten pounds. No one doubted the goodness of the note, but no one could give change for it. Ten pounds, in gold or silver, were not in the county; and as for credit, there was none to be had. In this extremity, with money—which was not money—and without credit, having tried butcher, baker, and confectioner in vain, the gentleman gave up the idea of his dinner party in despair, and wrote to his friends to keep the engagement standing until—he could procure cash or credit for a ten-pound note.



they took place were generally as heavy as the failures themselves were frequent. It will suffice to refer to a few cases. Wakefield relates, that the debts of one of the banks at New Ross, the population of which must then have been under 4000, Messrs. Colclough's, came to £200,000. According to the same authority, Cotter and Keller, of Cork, stopped payment for £420,000. Sir J. Newport, Bart., when examined in 1826, before the Lords' Committee on the Circulation of Promissory Notes in Ireland, asserted that Williams and Finn, of Dublin, failed for £300,000, without having ever been worth £1000. Half a million was computed as the sum that would about cover the issues and liabilities of the Messrs. Alexander, of Dublin. The statement of the affairs of the Messrs. Roche, of Cork, was laid before the Committee just mentioned, and affords, perhaps, the most correct exhibition which it is possible to cite, of the series of transactions to which it belongs:—

In June, 1813, Stephen and James Roche, bankers, in Cork, had in circulation (including above £80,000 in their cashier's hands, so that what they owed the public was under £300,000), Irish currency, £376,166 2s. 10½d., viz.:—

In notes, &c., above 10 guineas	.	.	.	£8,952	0	0	
In notes, 10 guineas	guineas. 9,370	.	.	.	10,658	7	6
					£19,610	7	6
In notes, 5 guineas	15,620	.	.	.	17,767	15	0
					£37,378	2	6
In notes, 4 guineas	72,584	.	.	.	82,564	6	0
In notes, 3 guineas	54,428	.	.	.	66,461	17	0
					£186,404	5	6
In notes, 1½ guineas	52,962½	£60,252	16	1½			
In notes, 1 guinea	46,975	53,434	1	3			
		£113,686	17	4½			
In notes, £1 10s.	.	.	35,218	0	0		
In notes, £1	.	.	36,609	0	0		
In notes, £1 5s.	.	.	2,248	0	0		
					189,761	17	4½
					Irish Currency.		
					£376,166 2 10½		

It results, from the above statement, which is offered as an average

specimen, and may serve as a general ground of inference, that the portion of notes above ten guineas was about one to forty-two: above five guineas, about one to nineteen; and that small notes of a guinea and a half, and under, formed more than half the entire sum in circulation.

We have now to pass on to the third and last stage of banking in Ireland, the summary of the second stage being—the Bank of Ireland monopoly, copper and silver notes, I O U's for all amounts; the panics of 1804, 1810, 1814, and 1820; the stoppage of fifty banks in forty years, and the loss of millions which it is impossible to calculate.

In approaching this grateful period of relief, and having, at length, to dwell upon times and events in which there appears satisfactory evidence of substantial improvement, it is proper to explain, that, in sketching the rise and progress of Joint-stock Banks in Ireland, the Report of the Commons' Select Committee on Joint-stock Banks, in 1837, is the principal guide and authority followed. Minute inquiries were then instituted into the various details connected with the subject, and a mass of information collected, as interesting as it is authentic. From the materials thus lying unexceptionably at hand, the particulars first given of each bank, in the following summary, have been gleaned; the additional information has been drawn from public sources.

The first Joint-stock Banking Company established in Ireland, after the passing of the Act 6 Geo. IV. c. 42, was in Belfast, where the Northern Banking Company, founded upon a private bank of the same name, commenced business August 1, 1825. According to the (1837) Report of the House of Commons, the Bank in the year 1836 had ten branches, varying in distance from six to sixty miles from the central office. The capital was £500,000, in 5000 shares of £100 each; all of which had been subscribed for, though only 4889 had been allotted. The amount paid up was £122,275, produced by three calls, amounting to £27 1s. 8d. Irish, or £25 British. No shares had been forfeited. The deed of settlement, dated August 1, 1824,

had been signed by 264 persons. The directors then laid no statement of accounts before the proprietors. The Bank held ten of its own shares; and it claimed, under the twenty-second clause of the deed of settlement, a lien on all shares for any debts due to it by the proprietors. Its promissory notes are made payable only where issued; but, in point of fact, they are paid at the head Bank, and all its branches, and by the Bank of Ireland in Dublin. No post bills are issued. Interest was then allowed on accounts current, and on deposits remaining three months and not six, at the rate of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.; and if they remained six months, or upwards, 3 per cent. These rates commenced in August, 1835; prior to which no interest had been allowed on accounts current, and only  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on deposits. The general progress of the establishment appears in the following statement:—

Year.	Subscribed Capital.	Paid-up Capital.	Dividend.	Bonus.	Rest.
	£	£	£	£ s. d.	£
1826	500,000	125,000	5 per cent.	2 19 1 per share.	The Bank made no public statement during this interval.
1827	"	"	"		
1828	"	"	"		
1829	"	"	"		
1830	"	"	"		
1831	"	"	"		
1832	"	"	"	4 0 0 per share.	
1833	"	"	"		
1834	"	"	"		
1835	"	"	6 per cent.		
1836	"	"	7 "		49,590
1837	"	"	8 "		49,590
1838	"	"	9 "		49,590
1839	"	"	10 "	5 0 0 per share. added to capital.	28,872
1840	"	"	"		30,338
1841	"	"	"		32,442
1842	"	"	"		35,299
1843	"	"	"		35,800
1844	"	"	"		36,276
1845	"	"	"		39,428
1846	"	"	"		44,830
1847	"	"	"		44,830
1848	"	"	"		44,830



The Hibernian Joint-stock Company ranks, in point of seniority, as the second establishment of its class in Ireland, having begun business in June, 1825, upon the strength of an Act of Parliament, 5 Geo. IV. c. 159, obtained with difficulty, and curtailed in its progress of many of its best provisions. The Company empowered by this statute is styled the Hibernian Joint-stock Company, and was founded, according to the preamble, to purchase and sell annuities, and all public and other securities, real and personal, in Ireland, to make loans and advances of money thereon, and upon the security of merchandise and manufactured goods, and to receive lodgments or deposits of money, and to sue and be sued in the name of the governor or secretary. According to the report already cited, its capital is £1,000,000, in 10,000 shares, of £100 each; the whole of which had been issued in 1836, when £250,000 had been paid up, in calls of—£15 per share, July 15, 1824; £10 per share, August 30, 1824; and, December 27, 1825, eight and one-third on the above, to assimilate the currency. No shares had been forfeited, and the dividend had not then been more than 4 per cent. per annum. The deed of settlement, dated April 11, 1825, bore 1063 signatures, being all the original proprietors: a copy of the deed was furnished to the committee. The accounts are submitted every year to a board of management, who appoint a committee of their own body, to compare them with the books, and audit and examine them. They are presented to and received by the proprietary, vouched by the signatures of a sub-committee. The bank held 1315 shares of its own stock, in its own right, and fifty-three as security for advances. It issues no promissory notes, or bank post-bills, allows no interest on balances, but pays two-and-a-half per cent. on deposits remaining three months.\* At the date of this report the Hibernian Bank had no branches: it now has four, namely,—at Drogheda, Navan, Mullingar, and Longford.

\* Commons' Report, 1837, Appendix I., p. 55.

A somewhat particular account of the origin of this bank was given in the evidence of Mr. J. Robinson Pim:—

“A number of Roman Catholic gentlemen, finding they were continued to be excluded from the direction of the Bank of Ireland, met together, and obtained the signatures, not only of Roman Catholics, but of a number of others, amongst the rest myself, to the establishment of this bank; many merchants signed it, as considering that, by having an opposition Bank in such a city as Dublin, advantages would frequently be derived from it, and not altogether looking to the emolument which they should receive as subscribers to the bank, but looking at it as citizens generally; I, myself, never calculated on a great deal of profit from it, except at a very remote period. Some of the individuals who undertook it came over to London, and they had expected to obtain the power of issuing notes; but they met with so much opposition from the Bank of Ireland, there were some of the directors of the Bank of Ireland came over here, in order to oppose it, and the clauses which they intended to enable them to issue notes were expunged in the Committee; but I state this only from hearsay.”

This company, it will be obvious, started at a very favourable juncture, and under good auspices. It enjoyed, from the outset, what no subsequent bank obtained—a particular Act of Parliament; it had a large paid-up capital and sound proprietary, liable, under a deed of contract, binding themselves, their heirs, and executors, to the full extent of their respective properties, for all the engagements of the company. Nevertheless, its operations can hardly be said to have corresponded to the acknowledged respectability of the directors, the large paid-up capital at their command, and the unquestionable extent of commercial business transacted by the class to whom it was addressed. This limited success seems to have been occasioned by one or two infelicitous circumstances, sufficiently public to admit of no discussion. The bank, as originally projected, was intended to be a bank of issue; and the merchants who negotiated the terms upon which it was to be established with Government, adopted a belief, during the progress of their communications with the Treasury, that the law would be altered, so as to admit of their having a bank note circulation. It is in evidence, before Parliament, that they regarded the

Government as bound by a distinct promise to this effect.\* Considerable discontent prevailed, when the hopes thus excited were disappointed. The Act of Parliament passed to legalise the operations of the company was universally regarded as a mutilated and unsatisfactory muniment. It was put forward as an act for banking, but from first to last the words bank, banking, or the discount of bills or promissory notes, were not to be found in any of the clauses. The failure of an injudicious attempt made by the directors, soon after they opened their establishment, to realise the advantages of a bank of issue, by circulating tokens, only added to the first disaffection. The tokens were put out in 1827, on unstamped, engraved paper, of the same size and appearance as bank notes. No "Promise to pay" having been inserted in the expression of this issue, which was simply entitled, Hibernian Bank—Token—One Pound; signed by two officers of the Bank, and dated in the usual form; it was held, in the precise construction of the law, not to be a note. The introduction of such a description of paper, however, was decidedly opposed by the Bank of Ireland; nor was it thought to be pleasing to Government, with whom a negotiation was entered into which, ultimately, led to its suppression. When this happened, the discontent of a portion of the shareholders broke out into overt opposition to the directors; outcries of broken faith were raised; public remonstrances voted; clamorous meetings held; petitions sent to Parliament; and a Bill submitted to the House of Commons for the dissolution of the Company, upon the ground that its Act gave power to grant Loans and Annuities, but not to erect a Bank. All this, however, was, very fortunately, without avail. The extreme course pursued on the occasion was justified by no sufficient provocation; and great injury would have been inflicted, had the first attempts to introduce the benefits of joint-stock banking into Ireland been marked by a signal failure. There were, doubtless, persons in the country, and

\* Evidence of Mr. I. Callaghan, "Joint-stock Banks' Report, 1838," p. 84.



amongst them some who ought to have been the last to join in so unworthy a line of conduct, who took pains to foment the dissensions of the shareholders of the Hibernian Bank, and encourage them to bring discredit upon the new system, by affording violent proofs of the inaptitude of the community for the improved order of things; but a timely discovery of their mistake, and of the selfish motives of those who secretly instigated their divisions, and a wise indisposition on the part of the legislature to encourage the senseless disagreements of an excited proprietary, left the directors ultimately free to pursue the steady business of a discount bank, which they have since done, without subjecting themselves to any opposition or reproach; unless, indeed, it be that they keep their business on rather too limited a scale.

The following Table, computed from the Abstract of Affairs presented to the Shareholders at every Annual Meeting, shows the state of the Bank from the commencement of business to the present time.

Year.	Assets of the Company.			Due to the Public.			Balance.			Paid-up Capital.			Balance to Creditor of Profit and Loss, in favour of the Company.	Dividend.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
1825	345,632	3	1½	87,004	11	1	258,627	12	0½	250,000	0	0	8,627	12	0½	2 ¾ cent.
1826	381,572	10	11	124,589	13	5	256,982	17	6	250,000	0	0	6,982	17	6	"
1827	360,683	4	11	100,602	9	5	260,080	15	6	250,000	0	0	10,080	15	6	4 ¾ cent.
1828	347,533	2	5½	84,779	8	5	262,753	14	0½	250,000	0	0	12,753	14	0½	"
1829	352,557	7	10	87,844	8	5	264,712	19	5	250,000	0	0	14,712	19	5	"
1830	368,652	19	5	103,156	16	2	265,496	3	3	250,000	0	0	15,496	3	3	"
1831	368,740	19	2	102,457	19	10	266,282	19	4	250,000	0	0	16,282	19	4	"
1832	395,103	6	2	127,716	0	9	267,387	5	5	250,000	0	0	17,387	5	5	"
1833	397,068	18	4	127,361	16	2	269,707	2	2	250,000	0	0	19,707	2	2	"
1834	407,264	3	6½	134,036	2	7½	273,228	0	11	250,000	0	0	23,228	0	11	"
1835	432,774	10	0	156,508	11	10	276,265	18	2	250,000	0	0	26,265	18	2	"
1836	390,400	1	7	110,961	17	6	279,438	4	1	250,000	0	0	29,438	4	1	"
1837	428,255	19	9	141,942	8	2	281,313	13	7	250,000	0	0	31,313	13	7	"
1838	435,082	4	9	150,287	18	5	284,794	6	4	250,000	0	0	34,794	6	4	"
1839	435,774	15	0	145,813	12	4	289,961	2	8	250,000	0	0	39,961	2	8	4 ¾ cent.
1840	420,935	4	1	128,275	13	6	292,659	10	7	250,000	0	0	42,659	10	7	5 ¾ cent.
1841	423,063	19	10	127,897	1	11	295,166	17	11	250,000	0	0	45,166	17	11	"
1842	463,984	14	11½	167,263	4	10½	296,721	10	1	250,000	0	0	46,721	10	1	"
1843	473,357	9	0½	173,500	1	8½	299,857	7	4	250,000	0	0	49,857	7	4	"
1844	533,380	2	8½	225,416	18	7½	307,963	7	1	250,000	0	0	57,963	4	1	"
1845	601,416	0	1	285,494	16	9	315,921	3	4	250,000	0	0	65,921	3	4	"
1846	615,281	12	11	292,671	8	8	322,610	6	3	250,000	0	0	72,610	6	3	"
1847	525,141	5	6	196,715	7	3	328,425	18	3	250,000	0	0	78,425	18	3	"
1848	550,575	1	6	218,623	7	8	331,951	13	10	250,000	0	0	81,951	13	10	"

The Provincial Bank began to be formed at the end of

1824, and opened its first branch at Cork, in September 1825. Following, as our authority, the Commons' Report of 1837, we find that in 1836 it had thirty-three branches, but no central office in Ireland, the seat of its management being in London. Its nominal capital is £2,000,000, in 20,000 shares, of £100 each, the whole of which have been issued. £25 have been paid up on each, with the exception of 411, which were forfeited.

The progress of the Provincial Bank furnishes one amongst the many proofs that are to be adduced of the mischiefs produced by a monopoly. Great as was the demand for additional banking accommodation, and manifest as was the anxiety of Parliament and the Government to afford the joint-stock system a fair trial-field, the Bank of Ireland made determined efforts to limit and impede the operations of the new establishment. Doubts were adroitly thrown out, and legal opinions taken upon the construction of the Act 1 & 2 Geo. IV. c. 72, which were intended to shake the public confidence in its efficacy, and to mar its practical utility. From what quarter, at whose instigation, and at whose cost, these doubts were raised, canvassed, and enforced, it is hardly necessary to indicate. In the end it was successfully maintained, that every partner in an Irish joint-stock bank ought to be a resident in Ireland; and thus the Irish were suddenly cut off from the co-operation of the English capitalists, without whose assistance they were themselves wholly unable to encounter the competition of the Bank of Ireland. So far, the Bank of Ireland may be said to have broken faith with Parliament and the public: it had obtained a certain boon, half a million of money, as the price of a fixed concession, and having secured its own share of the terms, it turned boldly round to pick holes in the Act of Parliament, by which the agreement was regulated, and sought to arrest the progress of the improvement which the national interests so urgently demanded.

It took four years to effect a redress of this artful piece of injustice. Right, however, ultimately prevailed, and the Provincial Bank of Ireland was established by a proprietary of

the highest respectability and ample wealth. The treatment the new undertaking received from the Bank of Ireland would, of itself, seem to show, that it is not in the nature of things that such a corporation as that is can by possibility discharge the equitable and impartial functions which, to constitute it a national benefit, should never fail to be the condition and accompaniments of its existence. The influence of self-interest is too strongly ingrafted in every thing human, to permit any set of men, be they who they may, to give fair play to a rival body, and allow it to participate, without jealousy, impediment, or resentment, in a sure harvest of certain emolument, which, but for its intrusion, would have been their own exclusive property. It thus happened, as might have been foreseen, that the difficulties offered to the success of the Provincial Bank by the directors of the Bank of Ireland were numerous and severe. Several heavy and keenly-timed runs upon the Provincial took place, of which, as no authentic account has been given of them, we are not, perhaps, formally warranted in laying to the charge of the Bank of Ireland.\* Facts, however, of sufficient importance, and indisputable character, are to be adduced, which seem to prove that the Bank of Ireland, though a direct and well-remunerated party to the introduction of such banks as the Provincial Bank of Ireland, was far from acting up to the spirit of the contract entered into, and that, on several critical emergencies, it paid but very slight attention to the public good, whenever a question of its own interest happened to be raised.

\* Some strange stories have been told against the Bank of Ireland. Not very long after the Provincial Bank was set up in Limerick, there was a run upon it, which nearly exhausted the manager's immediate resources. In his extremity he applied to the Bank of Ireland for a temporary advance, on unexceptionable bills, and was refused. A striking anecdote was told during the debate upon the defeated measure of Mr. Spring Rice in 1839. A Drogheda merchant drew a bill upon his English correspondents, men of the first credit, and sent it for discount to the branch of the Bank of Ireland in that town. The merchant was known to have expressed opinions unfavourable to the Bank monopoly, and the bill was unceremoniously rejected. Thereupon, the merchant desired his servant-man to draw upon the same parties for the same sum, and take the draft, the same day, to the Bank of Ireland, where, the obnoxious name no longer appearing upon the paper, it was cashed in a moment.



The Provincial Bank of Ireland, as already stated, was founded in 1824, and before 1826 the Bank of Ireland was at open war with it. The first step taken in the very unbecoming course of opposition upon which the Bank of Ireland now entered, was to set up branch banks of its own, in the towns in which the Provincial Bank proposed to carry on business; the next was, to resist, with all its most active weight and influence, the 6th of Geo. IV. c. 42, which was about to pass, for the sole purpose of simplifying and explaining the preceding Act of Parliament upon the same subject.

This was a course, not ungracious only, but most vexatiously inconsistent. From the year 1783 to the year 1824, the terms of the monopoly enjoyed by the Bank of Ireland forbade the establishment of a second joint-stock bank in Ireland; the Bank of Ireland had not Dublin alone, with its circle of fifty miles, exclusively to itself, but it reigned paramount over the whole island also. Nevertheless, during that long series of years, it never once extended itself into the provinces; it set up not a single branch bank; it left the country entirely dependent upon the circulation of private banks; the great majority of those concerns were well known to possess no adequate means; the failures that ultimately took place amongst them, entailed, on the public, losses estimated at the amount of twenty millions sterling; and yet, during this long interval, in the presence of these heavy sufferings, the Bank of Ireland confined its operations to Dublin. But the moment the urgency of the circumstances invited others into the field; as soon as London capitalists published a prospectus, in which they promised to afford certain towns in the country parts of Ireland that accommodation which the Bank of Ireland had so long denied them; the Bank at once set up a determined opposition in those very towns, and resorted to every means within its reach to embarrass and defeat the new enterprise. It thus not only refused to do the good required, when it alone had the power, but it laboured to deter others from rendering it, even where the legislature had specially

interfered for the purpose. Such are the nature and working of a National Bank chartered with exclusive privileges.

Amongst other practices, now first introduced by the Bank of Ireland, was that of reducing the course of exchange from twenty-one to ten days; then to seven days; and, at last, of giving drafts at sight. By this cutting trade it was hoped the Provincial would be annoyed and injured. But, in the end, the Bank was itself a loser, as well as all the other Dublin houses. A profitable source of business ceased to exist; namely, the interest of money lodged for drafts on London, which came to be given at sight for a trifling commission.

Concurrently with these proceedings, and with a view of driving the young rival out of the field, it was resolved not to recognise it in any transaction, not to exchange notes with it, to insist upon cash payments for its notes at the branches, and to refuse to pay gold at the very same places for its own. Perhaps the worst feature in this vexatious act, is to be found in the fact that the Bank of Ireland had, just before, been in the habit of paying gold for its paper throughout the country, and that it now inconvenienced the public by denying gold for its issues everywhere but in Dublin, for the sole purpose of damaging the business of the Provincial Bank. The genuine bitterness of civil strife and mercenary collision could not have been more inveterately displayed than it was in all these wild measures. To show that these statements are in no respect exaggerated, it is only necessary to refer to the evidence given before the Committee of the House of Commons, by Mr. Guinness, a director of the Bank of Ireland, and Mr. Pierce Mahony, solicitor to the Provincial Bank, in the year 1837.

The next litigation got up by the Bank of Ireland with the Provincial, was a *qui tam* action for paying (not issuing) notes in Dublin. After this suit had been decided against them in the Irish Courts, they brought it to the House of Lords as an appeal; and had not Messrs. Spring Rice and Dawson, together with other official men, been on the Direction of the

Provincial Bank, it is hard to say what the result might have been, or to what extremities the monopolists might have succeeded in carrying their hostility. Fortunately for the country, the suit was compromised, and the Act 6 Geo. IV. c. 42 passed, expressly to allow the Joint-stock Banks an agency in Dublin, for the purpose of paying there, and within fifty miles, notes issued in the country.

The deed of settlement of the Provincial Bank bears date August 1, 1825, and was signed by 692 shareholders. It has never been printed or published. The accounts are made up annually, audited, and examined by the Directors, who also prepare the reports from such accounts for publication. The bank, in 1836, held 1398 of its own shares; but had rarely made advances, solely on that description of property, without taking collateral security. It had no post bills, and its promissory notes are all payable at the respective places of issue. The interest on balances or deposits varied according to agreement, from one to two and a half per cent.\*

In 1827, a very favourable privilege was conceded to the Provincial Bank by Government, the revenue of the Irish Excise, Stamps, and Post Office, being ordered to be paid into its branches, beyond the circle of fifty miles round Dublin, which was reserved to the Bank of Ireland. The fortune of this establishment may be instanced as a confirmation of the opinion that agriculture is a fertile feeder of our banks, and the direct source of some of the largest capitals that have been accumulated by banking. The Messrs. Gurney, so long the principal bankers of Norwich, owe their greatness and their wealth to the agriculture of the county of Norfolk. From the same root sprung the bill-brokers of that name in London, whose business is the largest and most flourishing ever known to exist. The Smiths, of Lombard Street, came originally from Nottingham, where they began their prosperous career by taking in deposits of money from the farmers, and lending them out to the surrounding manufacturers. That

\* Report, 1837, Appendix I., p. 83.



is the essence of banking and industrial progress; and it is a gratifying thing to know, that the Provincial Bank of Ireland was enabled not only to follow the same excellent process, but to carry it to an extent far greater than might have been supposed possible in that country. It is, however, a fact not less true than surprising that, in the year 1834, the amount of the deposits at the different branches of the Provincial Bank touched, in round numbers, the sum of nearly a million and a half—by far the greater portion of which was drawn from agricultural districts, and passed for discount to the manufacturing towns.

The following table refers to that period, and it furnishes perhaps the most interesting detail of the statistics of banking in Ireland that has ever appeared in print. The distance of the time is such as to involve no violation of the privacy which it is proper to observe respecting all cotemporaneous transactions of the kind:—

Statement of the Amount of Deposits and Circulation at the several Branches of the Provincial Bank of Ireland in the year 1834.

Towns.	Deposits.			Circulation.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Cork . . . .	215,523	0	0	149,172	0	0
Limerick . . . .	250,402	0	0	198,890	0	0
Clonmel . . . .	160,218	0	0	132,111	0	0
Londonderry . . . .	145,349	0	0	54,199	0	0
Sligo . . . .	32,145	0	0	52,400	0	0
Wexford . . . .	51,792	0	0	35,650	0	0
Belfast . . . .	94,116	0	0	91,982	0	0
Waterford . . . .	74,694	0	0	85,012	0	0
Galway . . . .	40,016	0	0	41,884	0	0
Armagh . . . .	104,908	0	0	57,918	0	0
Athlone . . . .	24,559	0	0	22,306	0	0
Coleraine . . . .	74,225	0	0	26,691	0	0
Kilkenny . . . .	83,040	0	0	101,736	0	0
Ballina . . . .	13,992	0	0	18,518	0	0
Tralee . . . .	74,830	0	0	36,850	0	0
Youghal . . . .	10,211	0	0	42,616	0	0
Enniskillen . . . .	14,219	0	0	30,169	0	0
Monaghan . . . .	20,340	0	0	30,473	0	0
	£1,484,579	0	0	£1,208,585	0	0

The directors are allowed £5,000 a year under the deed of settlement, but they observe an arrangement by which no single director can receive more than £250 in one year. The bank has distinguished itself by the spirit and effect with which it has resisted repeated runs upon its branches, particularly in the years 1828, 1830 (twice), 1831, 1833, and 1836. The severest of these was that in 1828, when the directors sent no less a sum than £700,000 to Ireland in gold. They give cash credits on the Scotch system, and have discounted bills for sums so small as ten pounds and five pounds, though the practice is one they would not encourage.\* In 1836, 4000 shares, of ten pounds each, were distributed amongst the proprietors, out of the reserved profits; and, at the same time, the directors took power to issue 16,000 shares, of ten pounds, in the event of their seeing fit to increase the capital of the company. The rate at which the business and profits of this company have prospered may be inferred from a few statements taken from the annual accounts:—

Years.	Undivided Profits.	Bonus.	Dividend.	Profits in the Year.
	£			£
1838	92,873	—	8 per cent.	56,773
1840	101,178	—	8 per cent.	47,513
1842	114,200	4 per cent.	8 per cent.	49,401
1847	126,195	4 per cent.	8 per cent.	46,108

The Belfast Banking Company commenced business August 1, 1827; and in 1837 had twenty branches, situate from seven to ninety-six miles distant from the head office. These have since been reduced to eighteen. Its capital is £500,000, in 5,000 shares of £100 each, all of which have been issued. £125,000 were paid up in three calls, making £25 per share paid up. No shares had been forfeited in 1836, when there had been a bonus of £20,000, which has since been increased

\* "Joint-stock Banks' Report, 1837," p. 290.

to one-fifth of the paid-up capital. The following have been the rates of dividend :—

5	per cent. per annum,	from 1st August, 1827,	till 1st February, 1835.
6	„ „ „	1st February, 1835,	till 1st February, 1836.
7	„ „ „	1st February, 1836,	till 1st February, 1846.
8	„ „ „	1st February, 1846,	till 1st August, 1848.

The deed of settlement was dated July 2, 1827, and signed by 337 persons. It was printed and published immediately after being perfected, in that year. In 1836, the bank held fourteen shares in trust for the bank, and three as security for advances. The notes are payable at the place of issue, but are freely paid; no objection has ever been made to the payment in gold, at the branches, at the head office, or at the Bank of Ireland in Dublin. No post bills are issued: two-and-a-half and three per cent. interest is allowed on deposits for a term of three months.

The Agricultural and Commercial Bank of Ireland, at one time the most extensively spread Company of the kind in that country, is to be specially noted as the only Joint-stock Bank that has failed there. It commenced business November 2, 1834, and had, in 1836, forty-six branches, from 55 to 167 miles distant from the central or corresponding office in Dublin. Its capital, £1,000,000, was in different shares of £5, £10, and £25. The total number of shares issued was 257,377; and the total amount of paid-up capital £352,789 18s. 6d., realized by two separate calls, each of 10s. per £5 share; and two of £5 each per £25 and £10 shares. These calls would appear to have been made almost at the formation of the Company, and to have been paid for generally in one sum, at the time of subscription. No shares were forfeited; and the dividend had been five per cent., without variation, up to October, 1836. The deed of settlement bore date December 1, 1834, and August 10, 1836. It was printed, and extensively circulated. The accounts were usually certified, on the oath or declaration of the accountant, at the several half-yearly meetings. The Bank held in trust, for the Company, £45,348 1s. stock, taken at sundry valuations. Its



notes were payable at the several branches whence issued : it never had post bills. The interest on deposits for current accounts was two per cent. ; exceeding three months, three per cent., without variation.\*

It had to suspend payment towards the end of 1836, after having vainly implored assistance from the Bank of Ireland, upon securities which experience proved to be perfectly good. The Joint-stock Banks' Committee of 1837 instituted a searching investigation into the transactions of this co-partnership. While that was proceeding, a Bill for its dissolution was presented to the House of Commons, at the instance of a portion of the shareholders principally located at Belfast and the north of Ireland, who displayed, in the various efforts resorted to for the purpose of carrying their point, a wild and vehement determination, alike without parallel and without defence. The Court of Chancery in Ireland was concurrently appealed to for the same object, but both applications were unsuccessful ;† and, after a year misspent in unseemly disputes and

\* Appendix I., pp. 103 and 104.

† The promoters of this Bill threw the principal points upon which they relied into a printed Statement, which was distributed in the lobby of the House of Commons. They were exaggerated, no doubt, but striking, and ran as follows :—

#### FACTS RESPECTING THE AGRICULTURAL AND COMMERCIAL BANK OF IRELAND.

1834. Bank established (in June) upon an actual capital of about £1200, with a nominal capital of *five millions*, and without any Deed of Partnership until after the beginning of December, 1834.

1835. Was in extensive operation, with fifty branch banks.

1836. Alleged amount of paid-up capital £395,000 ; *one-fifth of this sum advanced by English capitalists.*

The entire fortunes of the Shareholders are liable.

1836, *October 17th.* Directors declared a dividend as from profits of £5 per cent. on the paid-up capital, and that they had besides a reserve fund of £8004 12s. 2d.

Directors made at same time a third call of 50 per cent. on Shareholders!!!

*November 17th.* Bank stopped payment.

1837, *February.* Directors issued a statement, that, after discharging all the liabilities of the Company, there were available assets above the capital to the amount of £4874 11s. 9d.

*March 20th.* Four auditors appointed, with the concurrence of the Directors.

*April 17th.* Auditors reported the gross assets to be only £290,000, and

litigation not a little expensive, the directors, at the General Meeting held in October, 1837, found all parties reconciled, and their own conduct approved even by those who, but a short time before, had so violently assailed it. On this occasion it was officially announced that an amount of liabilities exhibited in former accounts, to the extent of £800,000, had been paid off during the year, with some trifling exceptions, and that the total remaining assets of the Company were £277,071 14s. 9d., leaving the gross loss, consequent upon the suspension of business, £48,812 5s. 3d. It was under these circumstances that business was recommenced, but with no better results than of old. The directors stopped payment for the second time, in the year 1841, admitting a loss of £70,000. In 1845 an Act of Parliament was passed, directing the winding up of the affairs, which has been slowly proceeded with but not concluded up to the present time. What the exact loss has been to the shareholders cannot therefore be stated as yet : the public have been paid in full, and so far the working of the Joint-stock system has proved most satisfactory.

The National Bank of Ireland commenced business at Carrick-on-Suir in November, 1835, and, according to the Commons' Report already quoted, it had, in 1836, fourteen branches, with twenty sub-branches and eight agencies. The capital of

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that they consisted of bills from £50 to £2 10s. in amount, all over-due or renewed, cash credits, and over-drawn accounts : thus admitting a *loss of upwards of* £100,000, instead of a *profit of* £8004 12s. 2d., as alleged by the Directors, independent of the loss which must arise upon the overdue bills, &c., forming the £290,000 of gross assets, and that will amount to upwards of £200,000 more, *so that the gross loss will exceed* £300,000 !!! out of £395,000 paid capital on two years' banking, instead of a profit of £23,000 as stated by the Directors in October last.

At a public meeting, held on this day, eight of the Directors were suspended for mismanagement and misconduct.

These Directors still wish to continue bankers. They oppose this application to Parliament, being aware that if it fails the shareholders have no remedy against them, except a suit in the Court of Chancery in Ireland with above four thousand parties to that cause ; a proceeding which could only end (if ever) in the total ruin of all the shareholders.

the bank is £1,000,000 English, in 20,000 shares of £50 each, the whole of which have been issued. The paid-up capital amounts to £450,000. The deed of settlement dated January 6, 1835, has been printed for the use of the proprietors, who now number 796.\*

The accounts having been examined and agreed to by the Court of Directors, are submitted to the proprietors at the annual general meetings.

The seat of direction of the National as of the Provincial Bank, is in London. The Bank when first established had branches, sub-branches, and agencies in Ireland. At present it maintains branches only. These are 47† in number. The company's notes are only made payable where issued, but by courtesy they are paid at any of the branches. No post bills are issued; the interest on deposits varies from £2 per cent. upwards, on current accounts no interest is allowed.

The National Bank of Ireland was the only one, of the four large companies carrying on business in various parts of Ireland, which was not made the subject of inquiry by the Joint-stock Banks' Committee of 1837. It felt the monetary reverses of 1836 severely, and in 1837 it paid only £2½ per cent. dividend, instead of the usual one of £5 per cent.

Some changes have been made in its original constitution. When it was founded the proprietors consisted of two bodies of shareholders, the one metropolitan, and the other local: the former, when a branch was established, contributed a rateable sum, according to the amount subscribed by the latter, and the profits of the branch were divided, so that the business of each

\* The printed lists of the proprietors of this bank furnish some curious statistics. In the year 1836 the number of proprietors having votes was 246, and of these only 43 were Irish. In the year 1843 the number of proprietors having votes was 481, and of these only 106 were English.

† The following are the towns at which the National Bank is established:—Athlone, Athy, Ballina, Ballinasloe, Boyle, Carriekmacross, Castlereagh, Charleville, Clonmel, Clonakilty, Cashel, Cork, Dublin, Dundalk, Dungarvan, Ennis, Enniscorthy, Fermoy, Galway, Kanturk, Kells, Kilkenny, Killarney, Kilrush, Limerick, Longford, Loughrea, Mallow, Middleton, Mitchelstown, Moate, Mullingar, Nenagh, New Ross, Parsonstown, Rathkeale, Roscommon, Roscrea, Skibbereen, Tallow, Thurles, Tipperary, Tralee, Tuam, Waterford, Wexford, and Wicklow.



branch was a partnership between the metropolitan and the local shareholders, each having a distinct stock. In the year 1837 it was deemed expedient to remove the inconveniences found to result from the existence of two distinct bodies of shareholders, and the two stocks were consolidated at all the branches except at Clonmel and Carrick-on-Suir. In those towns the proprietary preferred to continue to carry on business according to the plan on which they were originally founded.

The Clonmel Bank has a subscribed capital of £80,000, in 8000 shares of £10, of which 6494 have been issued, and £16,235 has been paid up, being at the rate of £2 10s. per share. This bank has two sub-branches at Cashel, and one at Thurles.

The Carrick-on-Suir Bank has a subscribed capital of £40,000, in 4000 shares of £10, of which 1985 have been issued, and £4962 10s. has been paid up, being at the rate of £2 10s. per share. This bank has no sub-branches.

The following table exhibits the operations of the bank, as reported to the shareholders year by year, from the commencement of business to the last annual meeting, held in May, 1848.

Year.	Subscribed Capital.	Paid-up Capital.	Net Profits.			Dividend.	Undivided Profits.		
	£	£	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
1835	1,000,000	200,000	19,520	15	11	5 per cent.	14,520	15	11
1836	"	250,000	1,136	10	5	5 "	3,157	6	4
1837	"	350,000	5,998	11	8	2½ "	405	18	0
1838	"	"	22,796	11	6	5 "	5,702	9	6
1839	"	"	27,336	7	8	5 "	15,538	17	2
1840	"	"	27,744	12	4	6 "	22,283	9	6
1841	"	"	28,798	0	9	6 "	30,081	10	3
1842	"	"	22,235	3	9	6 "	31,316	14	0
1843	"	"	18,219	9	4	5½ "	30,286	3	4
1844	"	"	20,842	16	6	5 "	33,628	19	10
1845	"	400,000	24,617	5	3	5 "	39,496	5	1
1846	"	450,000	33,112	10	2	5 "	50,108	15	3
1847	"	"	33,496	9	1	5 "	61,105	4	4
1848	"	"	"			5 per cent., and bonus of 10s. per share.	"		

The Royal Bank of Ireland commenced business September 26, 1836, as a bank of discount and deposit only, in Dublin. It has no branches; its capital is £1,500,000, in 30,000 shares of £50 each: 20,930 of these had been issued in 1837, when the paid-up capital was £199,275, in two calls. The deed of settlement, dated September 1, 1836, was signed by 306 persons, and sent to the committee, but not printed. It empowers the proprietors to appoint three auditors to examine the accounts, and gives the bank a primary lien on its shares, in cases of debts being due by its shareholders. The bank does not hold any shares on its own account, and issues neither promissory notes nor bank-post bills. It allows interest at two per cent. on running accounts, and two-and-a-half and three per cent. on permanent deposits.\*

The subsequent progress of this company has been very satisfactory, as will appear by the following tabular statement of its published operations:—

ROYAL BANK OF IRELAND.

Year ended.	Paid-up Capital.	Net Profits.			Dividend.	Reserved Fund.†		
	£	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
1837	209,175	18,264	12	3	5 per cent. per annum.	3,380	17	3
1838	„	12,882	14	9	„	5,818	19	0
1839	„	13,864	19	9	„	8,746	8	9
1840	„	18,555	10	8	„	13,374	1	5
1841	„	14,591	14	9	„	17,022	0	1
1842	„	14,083	1	5	„	20,081	15	7
1843	„	13,883	7	5	„	23,011	8	0
1844	„	18,335	7	2	„	27,595	4	9
1845	„	17,099	9	6	„	34,235	19	3
1846	„	20,106	1	11	„	40,120	1	0
1847	„	21,421	8	4	„	45,475	8	0
1848	„	19,877	16	4	„	45,475	8	0

The Ulster Banking Company commenced business July 1,

\* Commons' Report, 1837, Appendix, pp. 95 and 96.

† The preliminary expenses for purchase of premises and outfit have all been cleared off. The difference between the amount of the dividend and the sum added to the reserve fund, each year, is the amount allocated to cover bad and doubtful debts.

1837, and had eleven branches, distant from six to seventy miles from the central office at Belfast. Its capital is £1,000,000, in 100,000 shares of £10 each, of which 74,800 have been issued in that year, producing a paid-up capital, in two calls, amounting to £187,000. No shares had been forfeited, or dividend due, when the Joint-stock Banks Committee reported. The deed of settlement, dated April 1, 1836, signed by 802 persons, and sent to the Committee, directs the accounts to be audited by seven proprietors of 200 shares, who are chosen annually for that purpose. No shares were then held by the bank, but 18,150 shares were unissued. The notes are payable at each branch where issued, and there are no post-bills. Three per cent. interest was paid on deposits, and two per cent. on balances.\* Following the example of the other establishments at Belfast, the Ulster Bank produces no annual statement of accounts. Its ascertainable statistics, in 1848, were these:—Number of branches, 15; number of proprietors, 440; subscribed capital and shares as in 1836; paid-up capital, £187,000; authorized circulation, £311,079; dividend, 5 per cent. per annum.

There is one joint-stock bank more to be mentioned, which is called the Tipperary Joint-stock Bank. It has not been many years in existence, and, as it has never fallen under the notice of a Parliamentary Committee, but little is known of its capital, its proprietary, or its operations. It is not a bank of issue, and is stated to have only two directors, and no committee. It maintains a head-office at Clonmel, and branches at Athy, Carlow, Carrick-on-Suir, Nenagh, Roscrea, Thomastown, and Thurles.†

Such is the state of joint-stock banking in Ireland; and when we have added that there are three private banks in

\* Commons' Report, 1837, Appendix, p. 76.

† There was an abortive attempt made in 1837 to establish a joint-stock bank in Cork, under the name of the Southern Banking Company. Another misnamed joint-stock bank, the Provident, in Dublin, failed after a short and fluttering existence in 1838. The London and Dublin Joint-stock Bank, established in 1843 by Mr. Medley, one of the original founders and directors of the Provincial Bank, merged into the National in the year 1848.



Dublin—those, namely, of Messrs. Latouche and Co. ; Messrs. Ball and Co. ; and Messrs. Boyle, Low, Pim, and Co.—we shall have all but completed the history and statistics of banking in Ireland.

The subject, as now seen, is a satisfactory one. There are perhaps no public institutions to be met with in Ireland which have given healthier signs of progress and improvement than the Irish banks have done of late years. Unquestionably there are matters of detail, both as regards constitution and management, which invite criticism and call for amendments ; but these are not offered to any greater extent by the Irish banks than by the English and Scotch banks. This gratifying state of facts is to be referred to the best of causes—the law and the system of banking in Ireland are nearly the same as in the United Kingdom. The good effects produced by the application of the principle of equality in this instance will prompt, it is to be hoped, its quick adoption in all other respects. Every establishment of the country demands, and would prosper as rapidly under, its generous influence as its banks have certainly done.

No opportunity for introducing any change in the laws relating to banking in Ireland is likely to occur before the year 1854, when the usual decennial period of revision and legislation will come round. On that occasion three main points in all probability will claim attention.

1. The hardship suffered by the obligation to keep the heavy stock of gold at present required at the branches of the different joint-stock banks. The published returns have for some time past shown an amount of gold to have been held by the joint-stock banks of Ireland far greater than the public accommodation has required. A dead loss of interest has been thus occasioned. Security unquestionably is the first thing to be considered in banking, and the strongest security is abundance of gold : but it is to be borne in mind, that capital unprofitably invested is amongst the proofs of bad banking. Gold reserved, without being used, is stagnant wealth.

2. The Irish banks have not the facilities of compounding for their stamp duties which are allowable in England. This point was put forward by the Hibernian Bank, in the Report of the Directors for the year 1847 :—

“Your board had also, since their last general meeting, their attention particularly called to the banking laws of both countries, with a view of availing themselves of the power which every bank in England has, of issuing on unstamped paper, bills of exchange, or promissory notes, for any sum of money amounting to £5 or upwards, expressed to be payable to order at any period, not exceeding seven days after sight, or twenty-one days after date, and compounding for such duty according to the law regulating bankers in England in that respect; for, as the law is in England, every banker there can issue such promissory notes and such bills of exchange on unstamped paper, paying a composition, in lieu of stamp duty, at the rate of 3s. 6d. for each sum of £100 which shall be in circulation for the half-year. Whereas in Ireland, the stamp duty on one such promissory note or bill of exchange for the sum of £5 would be 1s., and for four such promissory notes or bills amounting to £20, would exceed the duty payable in England on £100 of such bills or notes.

“Your board conceived, that your establishment was at all events entitled to the privileges it would have if located within six hours sail of Dublin; and they brought the matter, by memorial, before Mr. Labouchere, seeking to have the law of both countries assimilated in this respect. He received a deputation from your board in the most courteous manner. He candidly admitted that the law was as your board stated, but the matter was not within his department, and he would forward the memorial to the Lords of the Treasury, and their answer would be communicated.

“This memorial, merely seeking assimilation, was accordingly forwarded; and, on the 15th November, your board received the reply of their Lordships, stating, that they being advised that the alleged contract between banks in Ireland and England, does not exist under the provisions of the 9th Geo. IV. cap. 23; and having no evidence before them of any general inconvenience, are not prepared to submit any measure at present on the subject to Parliament.”

3. The propriety of making the same bank note the only legal tender in both countries seems indisputable. Put aside prejudice and some degree of Irish pride, and there is nothing to be urged against the proposition which deserves serious consideration. The more simple the bases and modes of a currency the better for commerce. This truth is uni-

versally admitted ; but it is violated, when a Bank of England note is made a legal tender in England and not in Ireland ; and a Bank of Ireland note is made a legal tender in Ireland and not in England. Why should there not be uniformity in the circulating medium of the two countries ? Is it not natural as well as convenient ? Is it not almost a part and a condition of our being one and the same people, and a United Kingdom ? The evidence before the Joint-stock Banks Committee of 1837 shows that, during the panic of the preceding year, the Bank of Ireland charged a commission of a half per cent. for changing Bank of England notes ; and that this was one of a chain of events which led to the stoppage of the only bank that was then, for an interval, unable to meet its engagements. In a period of panic and monetary embarrassment, therefore, the commission in question might rise so high, that the depreciation produced by it might prove seriously injurious to trade. It is admitted, by all authorities, that a par of exchange is the most desirable thing to be obtained. The evidence of the late Mr. Rothschild and Mr. Palmer, before the Bank of England Charter Committee in 1832, left that point indisputable ; to which they further stated, that when the currency differs, there can be no perfect par. But by law, at present, England has one description of note as a legal tender in lieu of five sovereigns, and Ireland another description of note for the same purpose. The legality of the tender in each country is limited to the note of each, and thus a difference is created in the circulating value of the two notes in both countries ; which is inconsistent, inconvenient, and quite unnecessary.\*

The idea of merging the Bank of Ireland in the Bank of England, and placing Great Britain and Ireland, in this respect, upon the same footing with England and Scotland, is not new. It was urged upon the Commons' Committee on Circulating Paper by Mr. Burrowes, so long ago as 1804,

\* It is worthy of remark, that amongst the expedients discussed by the Commons' Committee of 1804, for rectifying the abuses in the circulating medium, was one for compelling the Bank of Ireland to give Bank of England notes in exchange for its own, on demand.



who said, "Looking at them (the banks) as two corporations, with trusts and powers for public and private purposes, I see no reason why a consolidation, or partnership, should not be formed between them, consistent with the general purposes for which they were constituted." Mr. Stanley, author of "Commentaries on Ireland," (Dublin, 1833,) and now Secretary to the Poor Law Commission for that country, adopted the same idea in 1830, asserting, that "such a measure would give to Ireland the same notes that England would be supplied with, and remove the last of the obstructions to free commercial intercourse. It might also be made the groundwork of a uniform system of banking for the whole empire. The period is past for constructing laws and commercial regulations for one part of the empire, and not extending them to the whole."

The following tables exhibit the statistics of banking in Ireland, as developed by the working of Sir R. Peel's Banking Act, passed in 1845:—

An Account pursuant to the Act 8 & 9 Vict. c. 37, of the Average Amount of Bank Notes in Circulation, and of Coin held by the several Banks of Issue in Ireland, from January 3, 1846, to October 7, 1848.

During the Four Weeks ending	BANK OF IRELAND.		PROVINCIAL BANK.		BELFAST BANK.		NORTHERN BANK.		ULSTER BANK.		NATIONAL BANK.		CARLON-SUIR NATIONAL BANK.		CLONMEL NATIONAL BANK.	
	Circulation.	Coin.	Circulation.	Coin.	Circulation.	Coin.	Circulation.	Coin.	Circulation.	Coin.	Circulation.	Coin.	Circulation.	Coin.	Circulation.	Coin.
1846, Jan. 3,	4,351,200	1,247,955	1,153,725	502,576	380,659	178,050	276,678	114,544	344,679	100,898	809,514	307,661	27,011	7,958	60,800	29,692
Jan. 31,	4,305,975	1,269,315	1,199,897	498,963	379,982	183,544	269,993	116,495	366,634	103,400	799,397	317,783	27,261	7,679	62,353	33,592
Feb. 28,	4,304,350	1,333,095	1,217,969	500,008	386,172	170,456	275,587	119,620	385,394	105,759	809,042	296,640	28,862	7,641	62,353	34,041
Mar. 28,	4,257,200	1,372,795	1,251,415	500,345	383,326	160,558	268,177	121,667	374,329	101,797	814,541	293,176	28,744	7,121	65,291	33,639
Apr. 25,	4,355,025	1,372,795	1,251,415	500,768	381,369	159,534	262,584	123,681	378,127	86,790	831,996	293,176	27,688	8,121	68,100	30,748
May 25,	4,355,025	1,372,795	1,251,415	500,768	381,369	159,534	262,584	123,681	378,127	86,790	831,996	293,176	27,688	8,121	68,100	30,748
June 20,	4,119,850	1,347,835	1,122,642	498,213	312,558	159,321	238,636	125,245	312,554	71,880	860,342	294,054	27,196	7,502	68,826	27,142
Aug. 15,	3,995,875	1,228,868	1,054,045	400,669	321,445	154,869	218,578	125,132	275,895	72,800	826,652	294,684	24,924	7,430	62,647	25,142
Sept. 12,	3,923,575	1,145,197	1,053,884	373,013	303,100	163,415	203,235	128,993	257,807	81,216	746,745	292,352	20,268	7,655	55,948	25,380
Oct. 10,	4,184,575	1,068,154	1,301,260	442,892	312,807	161,350	200,487	130,003	252,561	83,034	766,239	300,062	20,473	7,478	48,199	24,389
Nov. 7,	4,431,000	1,118,907	1,301,260	442,892	358,191	162,168	221,969	131,564	375,696	90,470	977,853	362,641	28,635	6,851	63,021	20,023
Dec. 5,	4,312,025	1,105,796	1,290,089	406,145	430,403	204,715	257,357	131,564	375,696	90,470	977,853	362,641	28,635	6,851	63,021	20,023
1847, Jan. 30,	4,115,300	1,017,418	1,198,648	588,909	399,728	198,517	230,331	128,656	339,545	111,408	977,853	381,807	25,218	7,396	72,112	18,576
Feb. 27,	4,026,950	1,006,158	1,066,081	434,911	341,315	183,690	219,862	123,779	298,074	84,802	981,975	383,287	24,431	4,801	77,762	18,845
Mar. 27,	3,857,805	999,338	1,027,694	404,745	321,228	168,078	205,963	88,532	251,641	66,812	940,123	343,942	22,535	4,371	77,762	18,845
Apr. 24,	3,803,525	950,544	998,979	380,702	300,219	138,117	177,573	73,035	187,960	56,108	883,719	332,714	20,350	4,254	78,291	17,881
May 22,	3,623,595	851,903	900,308	336,285	242,321	103,741	157,151	67,672	169,365	42,386	708,657	248,855	17,872	3,997	71,583	14,881
June 19,	3,292,475	750,828	873,698	306,364	212,749	101,860	157,151	67,672	169,365	42,386	708,657	248,855	17,872	3,997	71,583	14,881
July 17,	3,292,475	750,828	873,698	306,364	212,749	101,860	157,151	67,672	169,365	42,386	708,657	248,855	17,872	3,997	71,583	14,881
Aug. 14,	3,107,100	752,394	770,762	328,989	206,074	107,230	147,600	60,681	165,464	46,287	654,828	247,950	17,136	5,418	55,240	12,636
Sept. 11,	3,092,550	741,600	757,850	321,245	224,244	103,418	148,339	55,781	184,822	44,350	689,066	252,991	16,028	5,883	49,311	13,180
Oct. 9,	3,152,360	736,586	856,704	345,974	224,244	103,418	148,339	55,781	184,822	44,350	689,066	252,991	16,028	5,883	49,311	13,180
Nov. 7,	3,274,350	706,686	871,453	358,555	271,705	98,604	179,156	47,786	210,354	42,622	651,731	236,150	16,911	6,189	53,683	13,906
Dec. 4,	3,175,400	711,580	833,718	427,062	266,223	106,059	175,804	48,841	201,308	49,993	597,996	224,998	16,152	5,509	53,140	16,789
1848, Jan. 20,	3,068,700	728,367	833,718	427,062	266,223	106,059	175,804	48,841	201,308	49,993	597,996	224,998	16,152	5,509	53,140	16,789
Feb. 20,	3,068,425	770,272	822,532	420,533	252,548	110,000	179,417	50,391	217,818	54,263	598,183	223,676	16,445	5,231	52,758	16,409
Mar. 25,	3,063,500	810,812	815,646	403,761	258,496	104,045	179,558	53,721	223,331	57,891	595,933	231,598	17,929	4,623	52,758	16,409
Apr. 22,	2,998,400	769,099	815,646	382,732	246,876	93,789	172,583	59,766	205,492	65,097	607,074	240,685	16,728	4,023	51,731	14,714
May 20,	2,971,825	799,611	730,117	333,633	205,207	94,527	171,957	60,228	199,492	61,410	610,592	251,598	17,027	4,023	51,731	14,714
June 17,	2,863,800	739,698	688,666	319,815	189,753	106,207	169,083	68,533	175,363	58,742	539,775	218,980	11,455	3,522	40,832	14,705
July 15,	2,706,125	802,045	845,023	333,162	181,585	102,319	151,472	73,198	166,228	58,742	543,604	211,980	11,203	3,374	43,342	12,765
Aug. 12,	2,639,000	756,454	644,697	335,874	183,306	102,319	148,949	73,198	164,150	59,305	514,271	178,282	10,436	3,683	40,832	12,404
Sept. 9,	2,639,000	756,454	644,697	335,874	183,306	102,319	148,949	73,198	164,150	59,305	514,271	178,282	10,436	3,683	40,832	12,404
Oct. 7,	2,679,550	752,367	606,442	308,293	212,392	98,126	162,988	79,267	173,925	52,222	495,748	211,748	8,027	2,444	34,039	16,941
Nov. 4,	2,679,550	752,367	606,442	308,293	212,392	98,126	162,988	79,267	173,925	52,222	495,748	211,748	8,027	2,444	34,039	16,941
Dec. 2,	2,679,550	752,367	606,442	308,293	212,392	98,126	162,988	79,267	173,925	52,222	495,748	211,748	8,027	2,444	34,039	16,941

ABSTRACT of the RETURNS by the several BANKS of IRELAND under the Provisions of the Act 4 & 9 Vict. c. 37, from January 3, 1846, to September 9, 1848, continued from the Report of the Select Committee on Commercial Distress, 1848.

For the Four Weeks ended		Certified Issue of all the Banks.	Notes of £5 and upwards.	Notes under £5.	Total Issue of all the Banks.	Gold held.	Silver held.	Total Specie held by all the Banks.
1846, 3rd January	.	6,354,494	3,039,855	4,364,509	7,404,369	2,221,314	207,308	2,489,254
" 31st January	.	6,354,494	3,052,108	4,364,509	7,410,751	2,322,887	204,145	2,531,092
" 28th February	.	6,354,494	3,066,529	4,364,509	7,419,729	2,302,714	304,382	2,607,300
" 26th March	.	6,354,494	3,071,250	4,364,509	7,441,960	2,246,022	2,508,158	322,131
" 24th April	.	6,354,494	3,170,301	4,364,509	7,536,353	2,301,748	321,861	2,623,613
" 22nd May	.	6,354,494	3,223,459	4,364,509	7,432,080	2,177,033	321,310	2,498,345
" 20th June	.	6,354,494	3,072,033	3,809,375	6,372,026	2,082,018	332,981	2,415,002
" 18th July	.	6,354,494	3,063,214	3,082,577	6,086,491	1,808,216	358,307	2,366,780
" 15th August	.	6,354,494	3,013,664	3,320,844	6,480,517	1,887,457	376,355	2,263,795
" 12th September	.	6,354,494	3,013,664	3,375,118	6,388,175	1,892,388	349,980	2,242,322
" 10th October	.	6,354,494	3,013,664	3,375,118	6,388,175	1,892,388	349,980	2,242,322
" 7th November	.	6,354,494	3,336,269	4,067,375	7,351,555	2,131,387	345,812	2,477,207
" 5th December	.	6,354,494	3,336,269	4,067,375	7,351,555	2,131,387	345,812	2,477,207
1847, 2nd January	.	6,354,494	3,273,323	4,364,509	7,806,895	2,253,124	316,407	2,569,335
" 30th January	.	6,354,494	3,131,117	4,364,509	7,515,114	2,204,266	343,740	2,548,012
" 27th February	.	6,354,494	3,101,701	4,097,724	7,253,423	1,999,140	384,001	2,383,396
" 27th March	.	6,354,494	3,138,358	3,871,094	7,050,053	1,796,792	388,389	2,179,184
" 24th April	.	6,354,494	3,123,316	3,881,218	6,704,786	1,710,405	408,698	2,114,100
" 22nd May	.	6,354,494	3,163,465	3,357,708	6,521,284	1,547,590	445,010	1,992,545
" 19th June	.	6,354,494	2,855,513	2,932,305	6,018,420	1,462,163	520,300	1,982,682
" 17th July	.	6,354,494	2,855,513	2,932,305	6,018,420	1,462,163	520,300	1,982,682
" 14th August	.	6,354,494	2,670,376	2,426,849	5,401,551	1,298,579	500,289	1,800,882
" 11th September	.	6,354,494	2,581,063	2,467,245	5,097,378	1,093,810	503,524	1,597,337
" 9th October	.	6,354,494	2,581,063	2,467,245	5,097,378	1,093,810	503,524	1,597,337
" 6th November	.	6,354,494	2,714,480	2,718,920	5,433,310	1,046,096	507,027	1,553,232
" 4th December	.	6,354,494	2,597,237	2,801,374	5,355,613	1,046,096	511,043	1,557,139
1848, 1st January	.	6,354,494	2,597,237	2,801,374	5,355,613	1,046,096	511,043	1,557,139
" 29th January	.	6,354,494	2,597,237	2,801,374	5,355,613	1,046,096	511,043	1,557,139
" 26th February	.	6,354,494	2,597,237	2,801,374	5,355,613	1,046,096	511,043	1,557,139
" 25th March	.	6,354,494	2,597,237	2,801,374	5,355,613	1,046,096	511,043	1,557,139
" 22nd April	.	6,354,494	2,597,237	2,801,374	5,355,613	1,046,096	511,043	1,557,139
" 20th May	.	6,354,494	2,597,237	2,801,374	5,355,613	1,046,096	511,043	1,557,139
" 17th June	.	6,354,494	2,597,237	2,801,374	5,355,613	1,046,096	511,043	1,557,139
" 15th July	.	6,354,494	2,597,237	2,801,374	5,355,613	1,046,096	511,043	1,557,139
" 12th August	.	6,354,494	2,597,237	2,801,374	5,355,613	1,046,096	511,043	1,557,139
" 9th September	.	6,354,494	2,597,237	2,801,374	5,355,613	1,046,096	511,043	1,557,139
Total	.	102,790,693	118,003,586	220,784,229	51,006,922	15,801,845	71,407,702	1,906,047
Average for the whole Period	.	2,855,016	3,277,877	6,132,895	1,433,509	411,440	331,258	2,440,200
Average for the Year 1846	.	3,121,250	4,141,361	7,262,721	2,196,404	431,653	1,755,475	2,947,928
Average for the first Nine Months of 1846	.	3,040,304	3,913,014	6,953,318	2,092,737	431,765	1,755,475	2,947,928
Average for the first Nine Months of 1847	.	2,940,780	3,697,838	6,641,619	1,952,617	487,069	1,809,712	2,762,381
Average for the first Nine Months of 1848	.	2,465,745	2,320,407	4,786,152	1,004,300	542,643	1,497,080	1,991,383





## CHAPTER XXI.

## OUTLINES OF IRISH HISTORY SINCE THE UNION.

EPOCHS INTO WHICH IRISH HISTORY SINCE THE UNION IS DISTRIBUTED.—THE UNION AN IMPERFECT MEASURE.—INCONSISTENCY OF SEPARATE GOVERNMENTS FOR A UNITED COUNTRY.—MR. PITT'S RESIGNATION THE FIRST CONSEQUENCE OF THE UNION.—THE IRISH DIFFICULTY MORE SEVERELY FELT THAN EVER.—EARL HARDWICKE, LORD LIEUTENANT.—MARTIAL LAW AND SUSPENSION OF THE HABEAS CORPUS ACT.—DISTURBANCES IN THE COUNTIES OF LIMERICK, WATERFORD, AND TIPPERARY.—THE INSURRECTION OF 1803.—TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF EMMETT, RUSSELL, AND OTHERS.—THE HABEAS CORPUS ACT AGAIN SUSPENDED.—MR. PITT RESUMES OFFICE.—THE OLD SYSTEM DELIBERATELY PURSUED: DETAILS OF ITS GROSS CORRUPTION.—ORANGE LODGES PATRONISED BY THE DUKE OF YORK.—JUDGE JOHNSON AND JUDGE FOX.—CHARACTER OF EARL HARDWICKE'S ADMINISTRATION.—THE DUKE OF BEDFORD, LORD LIEUTENANT.—IRISH MEASURES IMPROVED.—ROMAN CATHOLIC OFFICERS BILL.—UNCONSTITUTIONAL DEMAND OF THE KING.—MR. PERCEVAL'S NO-POPERY GOVERNMENT.—O'CONNELL A PUBLIC MAN.—ROMAN CATHOLIC AGITATION SYSTEMATIZED: CONTINUES FOR TWENTY YEARS.—MR. PEEL, IRISH SECRETARY: HIS OPINIONS ON THE CATHOLIC CLAIMS.—DEATH OF GRATTAN: HIS CAREER IN ENGLAND.—MR. SHEIL: HIS STYLE AND SERVICES.—THE WATERFORD ELECTION, 1826.—CLARE ELECTION, 1828.—EMANCIPATION CARRIED.—STATE OF PARTIES AND PUBLIC MEN IN 1830.—WHIGS AND CATHOLICS.—RENEWED DISTURBANCES AND CONTINUED COERCION.—THE REPEAL ASSOCIATION.—IRISH CONFEDERATES.—THOMAS DAVIS.—DEATH AND CHARACTER OF O'CONNELL.—THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE FAMINE.—THE IRISH SYSTEM BREAKS DOWN.—SUMMARY OF REQUIREMENTS.—EFFICACY OF SIR R. PEEL'S IRISH LEGISLATION.—CONCLUSION.

THE History of Ireland after the Union with England, if distributed according to the succession of events, will exhibit three distinct periods or epochs of progress. Two of these include the time occupied in fulfilling certain omissions or

defalcations. There were things proposed, but found too difficult of accomplishment at the moment itself; and these were postponed, though they were felt to be necessary accessories to the smooth and perfect action of the political machine, which for the future was to condense the business of the two countries, and bring into harmonious action the inveterate distractions by which the population of one of them had long been divided.

The first period, as indicated by the Act of Parliament itself, embraced twenty years. The gradual extinction of the protecting duties by which the two Parliaments had unduly forced into activity some of the manufactures and commerce of their respective countries, and the consolidation of the Exchequers of England and Ireland, were not effected before the year 1820. This was a period of severe trial to Irish interests. Native establishments disappeared by degrees, merchants retired from business, the products of English skill impelled by superior capital found new markets, and much of that decay and many of those losses occurred, which were subsequently relied on as facts and arguments to justify the Repeal Agitation.

The second period was included in the first, and extended beyond it. It occupied the memorable interval devoted to carry the question of Catholic emancipation. Strange, that the statesmen of England should have permitted twenty-nine years of mistrust, discord, and mismanagement to be consumed in the reluctant concession of that simple act of justice!

The third period has been roughly made up by the Repeal Agitation—an abortive effort instigated by unequal laws, which have prolonged the internal convulsions of the country nearly to the full term of half a century, and exhibited a breadth of discontent fearful to contemplate.

How ever, therefore, we may in this chapter follow the order of time and events, the career of eminent individuals, or the rise and fall of successive administrations, we shall still find every thing that has been proposed, adopted, or displayed,



falling within the scope or influence of one or other of the three main objects just enumerated. When these have been described, and to some extent at least explained, a glance will be given at the period now opening before us, and an attempt will be made to show how, the agitation for the Repeal of the Union having miserably failed, we may venture to indulge a hope that the Irish difficulty is at length about to cease—that the Irish opportunity has arisen—and that we may at last look forward with some degree of confidence to an active course of wise legislation for the future: so that the gaping voids, which have so long engulfed the national energy, shall be filled up; and equal laws shall not only be passed, but administered, in the full spirit of religious impartiality. It is thus, and thus only, that prosperity is to be ensured to the country, and strength to the Government—two things, it is scarcely necessary to add, which are inseparable in their nature. For a country cannot be prosperous if its Government be weak; and unquestionably the weakness of the Irish Government, ever since the Union, has been a main, if not the sole, cause of the misery of Ireland. So far that measure has clearly been a failure; and so far the cause of the failure may be easily seen by those who will look beneath the surface of things. Our statesmen have proved deficient in forethought or management—perhaps both. They had two contending parties to deal with; and they have destroyed one of them without either elevating the other to its level, or constructing a new one to answer the emergencies of the occasion and the progress of order.

The inconvenience of this state of things is materially aggravated by the retention of a Lord Lieutenant, with his petty court and tame privy council—establishments which only furnish false points of attraction: men strive to occupy and rally round them, as the seats and instruments of real power, which they are not and never can be. And hence it is that the local Government in Ireland is neither the Government of the people nor of a dominant party amongst them: nor is it absolutely the Government of England; but

an indescribable compound or medley of all sorts of motives and influences, of which nothing certain is to be affirmed, but that its action has always been uncertain. In this way Ireland has not been governed, but retained in a state of precarious subjection.

As early as the reign of Charles II. Sir William Petty recommended ("Political Anatomy," chapter 5,) the subjection of England and Ireland to one legislative power and Parliament. This advice was strengthened by the Council of Trade, established by the Duke of Ormond. Many years elapsed, and we find Adam Smith, the next authority of eminence, in favour of the measure. "Ireland," he says, in his "Wealth of Nations," "would not only derive freedom of trade from an incorporation with Great Britain, but would acquire other advantages much more important, which would more than compensate any increase of taxes that might accompany the measure. That grand measure would be the complete deliverance of the major part of the people from the yoke of an aristocracy founded on the odious distinctions of religious and political prejudices; distinctions which, more than any other, animate the insolence of the oppressors and the indignation of the oppressed."

We know not as yet—perhaps we never shall fully know—what were the real opinions entertained by Mr. Pitt, when he resolved to unite together the Parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland. Like some others of our leading statesmen, he seems to have been little in the habit of unburthening himself to others. Either his mind never felt the want, or his ambition always disdained the help and animation derivable by the generality of men from the advice and confidence of equals and fellow-labourers. He appears invariably to stand alone; other men may be associated with him, but we feel his presence only: he fills the foreground superior to all before us, relies solely on himself, and directs and disposes of his colleagues as so much useful machinery. His own genius governs, and he relies upon nothing but that for the triumph of the policy which he has determined to pursue. If he has left behind him any me-

morials of his private thoughts, any notes of his full designs, they have been kept secret. Of that essential portion of history which generally exists, though it is not always disclosed, and which comprises things deemed fit and eligible to do, but which nevertheless are not done, because some formidable mastery or gigantic interest throws its huge bulk across the high-ways of justice and truth, and mars the progress of improvement, to preserve itself from hurt or damage;—of all this, in the matter of Mr. Pitt and the Union with Ireland, we know nothing. We do know, however, that he was not permitted to follow, in that great undertaking, the natural bent and settled design of his genius. We are not told, and probably never shall discover, what was the full plan he had determined to execute. The details and accompaniments he must have figured to himself as necessary and proper to render the measure perfect, and insure the lasting content of the people, and the strength of the consolidated empire—all this seems to be lost. But we are sure of one thing—the work to this hour stands imperfectly executed, and contrary to the interest of its author.

Upon three great questions—Catholic Emancipation, the tithes of the Established Church, and the support of the Roman Catholic Clergy—there is the clearest evidence of Mr. Pitt's anxiety to legislate. Amongst the authorities upon this point, Wakefield, Plowden, and many others may be referred to, who rely upon a speech made by Mr. Pitt in the year 1800, of which 10,000 copies were distributed throughout Ireland, as a sort of manifesto of the designs of Government in promoting the Union. There the minister was made to insist that the Catholics would be emancipated, and that some mode ought speedily to be adopted for relieving the lower orders from the pressure of tithes. It was by such declarations that the people were lured—some to petition for the Union, and others not to petition or move against it. But it appears that a bill was actually prepared upon the tithe question. Mr. Wheatley, at one time Secretary to the Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer, published a volume, quoted by



Wakefield, Vol. II. p. 485, which stated that a bill was prepared by Mr. Pitt for the commutation of tithes. The provision for the Roman Catholic Clergy was indicated by the invitation to the prelates to consider the subject, and report their opinions upon it, as mentioned in Chap. XVIII. Particulars or conditions of the concessions he proposed to make in these respects—the principles and the forms on which he would have proceeded in carrying them into effect, are none of them known. They are all, if not utterly lost, wrapped in impenetrable concealment. Interesting as the questions are, it would be vain to speculate upon them. The distinctions drawn by Mr. Pitt between right and expediency, in his speech to the House of Commons in 1805, add to the embarrassment of this part of the case, affording him, as they did, facilities for escaping from his overtures and agreements, his obligations and duty, which appear neither definite nor honourable. It is, nevertheless, material to observe of these—the only concomitants of the Union, which as far as we know, were deemed essential by its author—that only two have as yet been granted: the one only following after an interval of twenty-nine, and the other after an interval of thirty-eight, years; while the third remains still in abeyance. These delays of justice will be significant to all those who desire to understand or seek to explain the continued distractions of Ireland, and the bold reclamations of the majority of its people upon the imposing theme of rights withheld, and promised bounties still unconceded.

To suppose that Mr. Pitt seriously meant to continue the Irish system of his day, is to believe him utterly ignorant of the condition of Ireland and the first principles of government. He, at least, must have known that a ministry, to work satisfactorily, and to be either successful or permanent, must rest upon the confidence and support of the great body of the people; or, if that cannot be secured, upon some predominant interest amongst them, which may be either that of property or population. The weight of the one or the other, or of a combination of both, may suffice to maintain a govern-

ment which will thus be forced to consult the wishes, promote the views, and proceed upon the ascertained opinions of the interest it has chosen to rely upon. In this condition the government may, to a certain extent, be efficient: in any other it sinks, and becomes not an administration of general affairs, but of a particular body contending with another for ascendancy. This last was the Irish case, and as it enjoyed no repose nor security itself, it could impart neither the one nor the other to the community at large.

Mr. Pitt must have known that the preponderance of the Roman Catholic population rendered the formation of a permanent governing body impossible upon the principle of Catholic exclusion. And here will be found the seat and root of the continuous error of English politics in Ireland. There is no government which represents the people at large, or a predominating portion of property and population combined. The administration, moreover, of Irish affairs, since the Union, as before it, has not been, as it ought to have been, part and parcel of the general government of the United Empire, but a separate and subordinate division of the national business. The effects of this mistake have been seriously aggravated by the other practice just referred to, which has not permitted the administration of affairs either to be such as the mass of the people, or any sufficient section, covets or demands. We call Ireland an integral portion of the United Empire, and we govern it as we do the colony of Canada or the Cape, which are mere dependencies. A man may pass in thirteen hours between London and Dublin; but we maintain, at the latter place, the cumbrous and expensive machinery which is necessary at Toronto or Cape Town, but is a positive mischief in the capital of Ireland. We profess to make the people the instruments of government: they are altogether about eight millions in number, and we contrive to throw the administration of affairs almost exclusively into the hands of those who are put forward by, and identified with, some eight or ten hundred thousand Protestants of the landed interest. All this is mere dominion.

These remarks are drawn from notorious facts. As soon as Mr. Pitt had carried the Union the truth was seen so clearly, that a specious effort was made for a time to discountenance the arrogance of the ascendant party, and to govern for all classes impartially. But the scheme was not only absurd, but impossible; for the government with all its patronage and machinery was a monopoly, rigid, corrupt, and only designed to benefit an oligarchy, otherwise powerless. The pretence was soon abandoned, and the Irish executive, falling back upon the old courses, sought to cheer and animate the spirit natural to men enjoying advantages so gratifying to their pride, their indolence, and their luxuriousness. The consciousness of their weakness soon impelled the minority to reinforce their position with all the aids that artificial means could supply. For their protection and sustainment, at the expense of the many, every thing was exclusively retained that could serve, benefit, or enrich: race, commerce, religion, and civil rights all continued to be made subservient to the rule of this unjust pre-occupation. The consequences were unavoidable; discord sunk deeper, and grew more irrepressible in the masses, some of whom have ever and anon been found boldly transgressing the slender bounds which separate disaffection from disloyalty.

The two lines of policy applied to this state of things failed equally—the policy of attempting to govern by an over-privileged minority, and the transparent affectation of retaining the essence of a monopoly under the miserable pretext of administering affairs impartially, and so giving a triumph to neither party. By this vacillating process the government of Ireland degenerated into a series of awkward contortions. Each minister in his turn, finding his cabinet deprived of the true elements of good government, felt unequal to his position, and incapable of efficient rule. The best have laboured vainly—striving to appease on the one side the inordinate demands of faction and on the other the upheaving resentment of its victims, by giving some passing boon now to one party and now to another; until at last this most



deplorable point has been reached—that threats and clamour carry every thing ; that there is no relief without a preceding agitation ; that offices are filled and laws are passed, not upon any fixed or comprehensive principle, nor because they are the fittest for the country, but because they avail for the moment to hush some virulent outcry, and afford an interval of insecure tranquillity. And such will still be our penalty, such the liabilities to which we shall continue to be exposed, until a radical and well-digested change of system takes place ; until the government of Ireland becomes nothing short of the government of the empire at large ; so that its history shall no longer make us acquainted with many changes made and experiments tried, without exhibiting the development and operation of a state of things fully equal and available for the attainment of the effects which the Union was intended, and unquestionably is well calculated to produce.

That measure had no sooner taken place than the Irish difficulty made its appearance, and in a new and more exacting form than ever. The law came into force on the first day of January, 1801, and on the eleventh of the same month Mr. Pitt tendered his resignation—and why ? Let the cause be well marked, for it is most significant—because he could not produce with the consent of his cabinet an Irish measure—the expected relief of the Roman Catholics.\* We have, therefore, as the instantaneous consequences of the Union, first, the retirement of the potent minister who had originated and carried the law, and secondly, a breach of the well-understood conditions upon which the law had been acquiesced in by the majority of the Irish people.

\* Lord Grenville in the House of Lords was the first to assign the Roman Catholic question as the cause of his own and Mr. Pitt's resignation : "They had proposed," he said, "in the cabinet a great and important measure—they were opposed, and found themselves incapable of bringing it forward in the only way in which it could be effectual through the executive, and they could no longer continue under such unfortunate circumstances to act in His Majesty's councils." Mr. Pitt would not explain the matter to the Commons in direct terms, but he put it hypothetically ; plainly asserting that the King's opinion went one way and his own the other way.

When the news reached Dublin, Lord Cornwallis naturally apprehended immediate disturbances. The Lord Lieutenant may be presumed to have felt at least what Lord Grenville stated—Speech, March 20, 1801—"That the Union without Catholic emancipation was a base, lifeless measure." When a member of Mr. Pitt's cabinet held that language, the Viceroy may well have asked, What will the people think who have been so inexplicably deceived? Dr. Troy, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, and Lord Fingal, the head of the Roman Catholics, were summoned to the castle, where two papers were put into their hands for confidential distribution, in which the Catholics were exhorted to "strengthen their cause by good conduct"—and were assured "that they might with confidence rely on the zealous support of all those who retire, and of many who remain in office, when it can be given with a prospect of success;" and that "Mr. Pitt would do his utmost to establish their cause in the public favour, and prepare the way for their finally attaining their object." Excellent language, and choicely expressed; but like every other declaration that had been made upon the subject at the castle of Dublin, and issued to the public upon the authority of Mr. Pitt's name—a sheer delusion.

The Earl of Hardwicke became Lord Lieutenant under the parasite administration of Mr. Addington—an English barrister, Lord Redesdale, obtaining the Irish Court of Chancery, soon vacant by the death of Lord Clare. It was said, and perhaps not untruly, that the latter died of chagrin, upon discovering that the Union had deprived him of all his former power and influence, and that he was thought little or nothing of in England. Thus quickly passed away from the theatre of Irish politics the men who were the chief actors in the drama of the Union: of them Lord Castlereagh alone adhered to office, but not in Ireland. His place there was filled by Mr. Abbott, afterwards Speaker of the House of Commons; and thus the beaten tracks of old misgovernment continued to be trodden in all their intricacy and corruption. Englishmen filled the posts of highest dignity and largest profit, while an

infinite number of small appointments were kept up to appease the avidity of the native oligarchs, whose appointed task it was to stand by the system and defend it, at all hazards, from assault or reformation. As it was a settled thing in the government that nothing good was to be attempted for the country, it was agreed that those who had undeniable claims to relief should be spoken fair. Conciliation was proclaimed the order of the day, and no opportunity was omitted of showing courtesy and respect to Roman Catholics of rank or wealth, whenever they happened to come in contact with the executive.

This policy was too shallow to win substantial support, or in any degree to lighten the difficulties of working a system confessedly mutilated and defective. At every step that was taken, it was still felt that however Ireland might be legislatively united to England, there was, in point of fact, no union—that the English and the Irish were dissevered and hostile races—that there were not only two government establishments, but distinct rules and policies of governing; and that the history and rates of progress of the two countries were as separate and as different as they ever had been in former times. Nothing could be more strongly marked than the contrast exhibited between the sort of laws proposed for Ireland and for England. Moderation and some deference to public opinion were shown in these; in those the sharpest tyranny and a reckless disregard of even the forms of constitutional government. The Parliament of the United Kingdom met in the month of February, 1801, and in the month of March an Act was proposed, authorizing the proclamation in Ireland of martial law, then about to expire. Only one Irish member, Sir Lawrence Parsons, appeared to resist the measure. In the month of April a bill was brought in to continue the Act for suspending the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland during the continuance of the war, and for one month after the signing a definitive treaty of peace! Mr. George Ponsonby shamed the minister out of that monstrous condition. The usual manifestations of popular discontent soon made their appear-



ance. There were frightful disturbances during the year 1802 in the counties of Limerick, Waterford, and Tipperary, and special commissions to vindicate public order and protect life and property from destruction.

In the year 1803 the ministerial policy is found at work on a different tack. Foreign war rages, and the security of the throne is assailed. In this extreme the numerical population of Ireland is regarded as a strong arm of the imperial strength; and not a question is raised as to the propriety of turning the advantage to immediate account. There is a bill for 8000 militia in Ireland. A proclamation to raise the full number follows quickly, the loyalty and prowess of the force are highly extolled, and four guineas are given as a bounty to every one who enlists. Yet these men were almost all Roman Catholics, and there was besides an army of 10,000 regular troops, recruited chiefly amongst persons of that persuasion. A stronger proof of the tyranny of the penal code than this state of things exhibited could hardly have been furnished. The Roman Catholics were denied the privileges of the constitution, as men unworthy upon principle to be entrusted; and yet the moment that constitution was threatened with danger, the Roman Catholics were amongst the first men to whom arms were confided for its preservation.

Injustice so tyrannical—inconsistency so selfish, provoked, as was to be expected, a public ebullition. When the menaced Government showed that no fears were really entertained of the loyalty of the Irish people, and the presence of danger compelled the minister to assume the appearance of confidence, and approach terms of equality while dealing with them; it was but natural that individuals should be found whose daring was greater than their judgment or their prudence, and who deemed it not a bad stroke of policy to increase the national embarrassment by taking up arms. Thus it was that attempts were made at insurrection during the year 1803 in Dublin and in Ulster. The smouldering embers of the rebellion of 1798 were formed into a fitful glare of light, which broke luridly forth for a moment, and then subsided in sudden darkness.

Robert Emmett, younger brother of Thomas Addis Emmett, who had only recently been allowed to expatriate himself to America, after a long imprisonment at home, was one of those men not unfrequently to be met with, who play a bad part under the influence of good feelings. Young, sanguine, tender-hearted, eloquent, and gifted with no common intellectual endowments, he was nevertheless utterly destitute of political judgment and that practical ability which is the first essential in the preparation and accomplishment of political movements. He indulged a sensuous imagination to the extreme of its capacity, delighting in visions of national wrong redressed, and of freedom and prosperity restored, but sadly neglectful of the acts by which such results are to be produced. He had a fortune of £3000, and was vain enough to suppose that amount of money sufficient to cover the expense of revolutionising his country. While animated by the excitement of this speculation, he showed his ignorance or his contempt of every means by which such an enterprise is to be carried. Labour, hard and artful—reserve, keen and watchful—stern denials, long and steadily pursued—these are the services by which conspiracies are matured, and the fate of kingdoms changed; but of these not one fell to the share of Robert Emmett. He left no room to doubt of his guilt: the evidence against him was plain and direct; and he dignified its force by avowing his purpose. Almost the last words he uttered on his trial were these:—"I did not create the conspiracy; I found it when I arrived; I was solicited to join it; I took time to consider; and was told expressly that it was no matter whether I did join or not, it would go on; I then, finding my principles agree with the measures proposed, did join; and under the same circumstances I would do so again."

As details are not within the scope of these outlines, a general summary of events is all that can be given here. Pikes, gunpowder, and destructive compounds had been prepared, and were discovered; proclamations establishing a provisional government had been printed, and were found in numbers; thousands of men had sworn to fight, and were ready to

keep the oath. Had Emmett been a leader capable of bringing the physical force of that day to bear upon all the mischief it was eager to attempt, blood would have been spilt in torrents. But on that, as on other occasions, the wild resentment of the masses gave evidence of formidable strength, and exploded in a riot and a street murder.

It was on the evening of July 23, and after eight months of preparation, that Emmett brought his scheme to an issue. Ten o'clock was the appointed hour, and when that came, a rocket discharged from Thomas Street was the signal of insurrection in Dublin. The night was unusually dark, as the mob rushed to the *dépôt*—a malthouse in Mass Lane—and were supplied with pikes. Less than 100 men mustered on the occasion—and of these Emmett attempted to take the lead. He appeared at their head in a shining uniform of green and gold, pistols to his sides, and a drawn sword in his hand. But the undisciplined horde thus turbulently brought together, was incapable of control, organisation, or any regular service. The plan of action determined upon was an attack on the castle of Dublin; but, when the word to advance was given—while some ran wildly forward in that direction, others broke off to storm a neighbouring debtor's prison, and let loose the inmates.

Emmett quickly saw the hopelessness of his case, and withdrew from the spot crestfallen and sick at heart. The rabble that remained met the carriage of Lord Kilwarden, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench. Inside were the Chief himself, his daughter, and a nephew, the Rev. Mr. Wolfe. By one of those sudden bursts of human feeling which at times render the perpetration of the deepest crimes romantic, they passed the lady on and suffered her to depart unhurt. Upon her father they fell savagely and covered him with wounds. So foul was their rage, that they fought with each other after he had fallen, for the privilege of thrusting a pike into his body. His nephew shared his fate.

Lord Kilwarden's death was signalised by one of the most dignified incidents in modern history. As he lay in his agony,



Major Swan, a sort of police Rhadamanthus of that period, entered with his myrmidons, and proposed to hang upon the spot some men who had been arrested as guilty of the murder. But the dying judge interposed, not without great effort—"Let no man," he said, "suffer for my death but after trial and sentence by the laws of his country." A noble sentiment, and worthy of the dignity of British justice—the judge expired and his words were respected.

Within an hour the prisoners were secured—the depot searched, 6000 or 8000 pikes were seized—the people dispersed, and Dublin was as quiet as if no insurrection had been attempted. On the following day a sort of companion movement was made in Ulster, and proved equally abortive. The leader of this affair was Thomas Russell, a gentleman of credit and talent, who had seen service in the army, and at one time had been a magistrate in the county of Tyrone. Becoming suspected by the Government, he was thrown into jail in the year 1792, and was kept a prisoner until the peace of Amiens. He appears to have mustered not more than fourteen followers, and to have been unable to carry his treason beyond an appearance in arms, and the distribution of a short proclamation from the Provisional Government, dated July 24, 1803. Having thus committed himself, he dispersed his party and disappeared. He eluded the vigilance of the police until the month of September, when he was taken in Dublin. Russell was tried and hung at Downpatrick; and two of his accomplices, Andrew Hunter and David Porter suffered at Carrickfergus.

Emmett, with some dozen or so of followers, made his escape to the Wicklow mountains. After roaming about for a week, and living in a predatory manner upon the farmers, he returned to Dublin and remained for a month, quietly concealed, under the name of Hewit, in the lodgings he had occupied at Harold's Cross before the insurrection. Here, as he was one day sitting down to eat his dinner, he was arrested by Major Sirr. On the 31st of August he was put on his trial, with eighteen other persons. Of this number one was acquitted,

one was respited, and seventeen were hung. Emmett died with firmness and propriety. The speech he delivered before his sentence was pronounced, is one of the most effective addresses to be found in the touching records of political crime. It is printed here, not so much to show what were his merits as a public speaker—nor what were the sentiments of those who encouraged his treason, and of those who suffered with him—but as a signal warning to the statesmen of the present day. For the spirit of that speech lives, and is at this moment warmly cherished, in countless bosoms. So mistaken has been the policy with which Ireland has been, and still is, governed, that there are thousands of men who would to-morrow cheerfully venture upon the experiment for which Emmett forfeited his life, if they thought they could do so with a prospect of success.\*

“Why sentence of death and execution should not be pronounced against me, I have nothing to say. But why my name and character should not be transmitted to posterity, loaded with the foulest obloquy, I have much to say. A man in my situation has to combat with not only the difficulties of fortune, but those too of prejudice. The sentence of the law, which delivers over his body to the executioner, consigns his name to obloquy. The man dies, but his memory lives. And that mine may not forfeit all claim to the respect of my countrymen, I use this occasion to vindicate myself from some of the charges brought against me. Let what I have to say, and the few observations I shall make as to my prin-

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\* Of the many strong indications of the state of popular opinion in Ireland during the year 1848, perhaps not one was more full of meaning than the letter written by the parish priest of Ballingarry soon after the affray with the police, of which that village was the scene. It has been quoted, inimically, by the Bishop of Cashel in the House of Lords; but there are many persons who, though they do not think as Dr. Daly thinks of priests and Roman Catholics, will yet be of opinion, that the government of the country must be at fault while such a temper as the following extract discloses prevails *largely* amongst the priesthood of the majority of the people. “It was my fixed resolution not to interfere at all in this long expected outbreak—to look on with melancholy and painful but silent indifference—and not to be implicated in the movement at all, either for or against it. This determination I had come to, because I detested alike Whiggery and Young Irelandism. The principles of both seemed to me equally pernicious, so that, whichever should be vanquished, Ireland would be a gainer; and if both perished (I mean the parties and not the men), we might entertain a hope of her resurrection.”

ciples and motives, glide down the surface of the stream of your recollection, till the storm shall have subsided, with which it is already buffeted.

“ Were I to suffer death only after having been adjudged guilty, I should bow my neck in silence to the stroke. But \* \* \*

“ I am accused of being an emissary of France, of being an agent for that country in the heart of my own.—It is false—I am no emissary—I did not wish to deliver up my country to a foreign power, and least of all to France. I am charged with being a conspirator, with being a member of the Provisional Government—I avow it!—I am a conspirator!—I am, and have been engaged in a conspiracy, of which the whole object is the freedom of this country;—it never was, never could be our design to deliver over our country into the hands of the French.—No! from the introductory paragraph of the proclamation of the Provisional Government, it is evident, that every hazard attending an independent effort, was deemed preferable to the more fatal risk of introducing a French force into this country: and here, my Lords, I must take notice of an error in reasoning committed by the Attorney-General in his statement of the case; wherein he used the plan of the Provisional Government having been formed previous to the arrival of the French, as an argument to prove, that their views were necessarily directed to their assistance. The direct reverse is the obvious conclusion. The object of the Provisional Government on the contrary was, to act as a check on, by treating with the invader;—it was to put forward a body of men, who should stipulate certain conditions for their country with the French—not yield implicitly to their victorious commands. Small indeed would be our claims to patriotism, palpable our affectation of the love of liberty, were we to encourage the profanation of our shores by a people, who are slaves themselves, and the unprincipled and abandoned instruments of imposing slavery upon others. If such an inference be drawn from any part of the proclamation of the Provisional Government, it calumniates its views, and is not warranted by the fact. What, yield to them! Heaven forbid it. No, look to the proclamation of the Provisional Government, to the military articles attached to it—is there a sentence there, that will bear such a construction? How could we speak of freedom to our countrymen? How assume such an exalted motive, and meditate the introduction of a power, which has been the enemy of freedom in every part of the globe? When we review the conduct of France towards other countries, could we expect better from her towards us? Look to Holland, look to Italy, look to Switzerland, to every country, through which she has pushed her victories! Let not any man attaint my memory by believing, I could hope for freedom through the aid of France, and betray the sacred cause of liberty by committing it to the power of her most determined foe. Had



I done so, I had not deserved to live, and dying with such a weight upon my character, I had merited the honest execrations of that country which gave me birth, and to which I would have given freedom. Had I been in Switzerland, I would have fought against the French! In the dignity of freedom I would have expired on the threshold of that country, and their only entrance to it should have been over my lifeless corpse! Were I in any country, whose people were adverse to their principles, I would take up arms against them. But if the people were not adverse to them, neither would I fight against the people. Is it then to be supposed I would be slow to make the same sacrifice to my native land? Am I, who have lived but to be of service to my country, who would subject myself even to the bondage of the grave to give her independence, am I to be loaded with the foul and grievous calumny of being an emissary of France? Were my country once freed from the yoke of England—had my countrymen a country to defend—then should a foreign foe attempt to invade them, would I call on them? ‘Be united, and fear no force without. Look not to your arms. Oppose them with your hearts. Wait not their attack; but run to your shores and meet them. Receive them with all the destruction of war, and immolate them in their very boats; nor let your land be polluted by the foe. With the sword in one hand, and the torch in the other, oppose and force them, with patriotism, love of liberty, and with courage. Should you fail, should your love of country, your love of liberty, and courage not prevail, in your retreat lay waste your country—with your torch burn up every blade of grass—rase every house—contend to the last for every inch of ground in ruin—conduct your women and children to the heart and centre of your country—place them in the strongest hold—surround them and defend them till but two of you remain, and when of those two one falls, let him that survives apply the torch to the funeral pile of his country, and leave the invader nothing but ashes and desolation for his plunder.’

“I am also accused of ambition. Oh my countrymen! Was it ambition that influenced me, I might now rank with the proudest of your oppressors.” (He was here interrupted by Lord Norbury, who told him he had abused the indulgence of the Court—that he could not sit there to hear such language. The Government of the country was too firm to be removed by the plans of any wild and misled enthusiast, &c.) “My Lord, I have always understood it was the duty of a judge, when a prisoner was convicted, to pronounce the sentence of the law. I have also understood, that a judge sometimes thought it his duty to hear with patience and speak with humanity, to deliver an exhortation to the prisoner. You say I am the keystone, the lifeblood and soul of this conspiracy. On my return to Ireland this conspiracy was already formed. I was solicited to join it. I asked for time to consider, and the result of my deliberation

was, that it appeared to me the only means of saving my country. My Lord, I acted but a subaltern part. There are men, who manage it far above me. You say, that in cutting me off, you cut off its head and destroy the germ of future conspiracy and insurrection. 'Tis false. This conspiracy will exist when I am no more. It will be followed by another more strong, and another rendered still stronger by foreign assistance. Nay, there is at this moment an agent of the Provisional Government in Paris, who is empowered to negotiate for an expedition, but who has positive orders not to suffer that expedition to sail, till a guarantee of your liberties is executed by the French Government, similar to that obtained by Franklin for America." (He was here again interrupted by Lord Norbury, who said he should proceed to pass the sentence of the law; that instead of atoning for his offences, he was encouraging sedition, by holding out seditious, wild, and chimerical hopes of foreign invasion, and to intimidate the loyal, &c.) "Think not, my Lord, that I say this for the petty gratification of giving you a transitory uneasiness. A man, who never yet raised his voice to assert a lie, will not hazard his character with posterity by advancing a falsehood on a subject so important. Again I say, that what I have spoken is not intended for your Lordship. It is meant as a consolation to my countrymen. If there be a true Irishman present, let my last words cherish him in the hour of affliction." (He was here interrupted again by Lord Norbury, who told him, that instead of advancing any thing in his justification, he continued to speak nothing but treason and sedition; said, his (Emmett's) family had produced men of great talent, and that he himself was not the meanest of them. He had just then afforded them proof, and lamented the situation he had reduced himself to, &c.) After thanking the judge for his compliments to his family, he proceeded:—

"My Lord, I did not mean to utter treason—I did not mean to use seditious language—I did not even seek to exculpate myself. I did only endeavour to explain the obvious principles on which I acted, without even so much as an attempt at their application. Where is the boasted freedom of your constitution? Where the impartiality, mildness and clemency of your courts of justice?—if a wretched culprit, about to be delivered over to the executioner, be not suffered to vindicate his motives from the aspersions of calumny? You, my Lord, are the judge; I am the culprit. But you, my Lord, are a man, and I am another. And as a man, to whom fame is dearer than life, I will use the last moments of that life in rescuing my name and memory from the foul and odious imputations thrown upon them. *If the spirit of the illustrious dead can witness the scenes of this transitory life, dear shade of my venerable father, look down with a virtuous scrutiny on your suffering son, and see, has he deviated for a moment from those moral and patriotic lessons, which you*

*taught him, and which he now dies for.* As to me, my Lords, I have been sacrificed on the altar of truth and liberty. There have I extinguished the torch of friendship, and offered up the idol of my soul—the object of my affections. There have I parted with all that could be dear to me in this life, and nothing now remains to me, but the cold honours of the grave. My lamp of life is nearly extinguished. My race is finished, and the grave opens to receive me. All I request at my departure from this world, is the charity of its silence. Let no man write my epitaph.—No man *can* write my epitaph. And as no man who knows my motives dares to vindicate them, so let no man who is ignorant of them, with prejudice asperse them, till my country has taken her rank amongst the nations of the earth. Then only can my epitaph be written, and then alone can my character be vindicated.—I have done.”

The moment information of the insurrection in Dublin was conveyed to London, a message from the King was sent to both Houses of Parliament, and in one night bills were unanimously passed for suspending the Habeas Corpus Act, and enforcing military law in Ireland. The Commons had moved them through all their stages by ten o'clock, and by eleven they were despatched through the Lords. The severity with which these laws were enforced was tyrannical. The jails were crowded with men and boys, many of them arrested at the instance of spies and informers, who trafficked infamously, and with large gains, in the lives and liberties of their fellow-countrymen. There were scales of prices for the encouragement of these villains, one price for an arrest, and another for a conviction. Profligacy was baited to excess, perjury munificently rewarded. Once in jail, the victims were debarred from every form of justice—their remonstrances, their complaints, their protestations of innocence, were treated with contemptuous indifference; while their persons were subjected to indignities that were not rigorous only, but inhuman. Men arrested in 1803 were imprisoned as felons until 1806, and were punished during that long interval, without trial or any inquiry into their guilt or innocence. If anything could extend a show of reason, or the colour of an excuse, to the insurrectionary movements of Emmett and Russell, it was the subsequent barbarity of the Government



to every person accused or suspected of sympathy with their designs, or the will to aid them.

In 1804, Mr. Pitt resumed office. He had resigned in 1801, because he could not produce a measure of Catholic emancipation, and he now became minister, not only without making any stipulation for the concession of that claim, but with a voluntary\* assurance that he would not raise a discussion upon it! When the ministers of kings are thus seen to turn the immutable principles of right and wrong into plastic instruments which they modify and temporise with as expediency and convenience suggest, some allowance should be made for the subjects, who being the victims of the abuse, strive to resist the oppression and correct its improprieties.

Mr. Pitt's toleration of the Irish system of government prevailing at that juncture must now be taken as fixed and deliberate; for he continued it unabated and unaltered. When he resigned, upon the first opposition offered to his proposals for a new line of legislation for that country, it was natural to suppose that he contemplated such improvements as would gradually advance it to the full extent of its resources and just pretensions. When he took office again without checking a single abuse, or promoting a solitary reform, but, on the contrary, committed to a desperate faction; we are reluctantly compelled to believe that he was prepared to justify the state of things he thus bound himself to maintain as it rankly existed.

Few persons know what the Irish system of that period was—a system strongly demanding exposure, as well on account

\* There was a discussion in the Lords, March 26th, 1807, consequent on the retirement of the Grenville ministry. In the debate on that occasion Lord Hawksbury declared that although Mr. Pitt had gone out of office in 1801 on the Catholic question, yet on his return in 1804, he had voluntarily engaged that he would never again bring the subject under the consideration of His Majesty. "I do not state this," he added, "with any view of casting reproach upon the noble Lord (Grenville), whose conduct has been different, but to show the regard which a great minister had paid to the wishes of his king upon a subject which involved scruples of conscience in the royal breast."

of its enormous grossness, as because its lees and dregs are still to be detected fermenting, irritating, infecting, and depressing the country in numberless forms and directions.

The Irish system before the Union, and for many years afterwards, was arbitrary and corrupt beyond description. There was the system itself, and the machinery for its execution, and both so bad as to appear almost incredible. "I have been startled," wrote the Irish Chancellor, Lord Redesdale ("Twiss's Eldon," Vol. I. p. 431), "at some acts of authority which I have been called upon to do, as matters of course. But I find they must be done, as they have been done, and that although I should think them improper in England, they are unquestionably necessary here!" This system passed by different names and assumed various guises. First, it was custom, that stalest of pleas—but sufficient to salve Lord Redesdale's goaded conscience. Then it was the English interest against the Irish, whenever there was a question of doing justice to native rights. In that case, the Irish were made to give way "as a matter of course." It was Protestant ascendancy against Roman Catholic equality whenever there was a question of removing the disabilities under which the great majority of the people laboured; but, above all, it was the maintenance of the aristocracy in that state of domineering power, which had been repeatedly granted to them as a means of self-protection against the resentment of those who had once possessed the forfeited estates, and were always suspected of a design to resume them. This system had to be bolstered up continuously by severities, jobs,\* monopolies, pensions, grants, and gratuities; so that the owners of the soil, predestined to ruin, were never called upon to rely upon their own exertions for the improvement or protection of their condition. This will be found the true explanation of the embarrassment of the landed interest in Ireland. Lavish as the grants had been to the settlers in the times of James

\* "You have truly said that if Irish jobs are permitted to get into English councils the Union will ruin England."—*Lord Redesdale to Lord Eldon, Twiss's Life, Vol. I., p. 432.*

and of William, and at other junctures ; it is plainly demonstrable that the persons thus favoured were never thrown upon their own resources. Princely had been the domains gratuitously presented to them, yet they never ceased to make it a point that the Government should support them in retaining possession. In return for this help they undertook to support the Government, and thus between the two were the people always held in bondage. This, in plain terms, was governing the country by nothing but patronage. Places were multiplied, pensions increased, loans of public money advanced, bounties conferred, and no strict account of the public receipts and disbursements demanded—all for the gratification and appeasement of the landed interest, and their creatures and dependents. Spoil and peculation were the prolific fruits of this system—all Ireland was the field of spoil, and every man in office a peculator, accordingly as the rank he held gave him a licence to fill his purse with impunity at the cost of the nation.

When Mr. Pitt's idea of emancipating the Roman Catholics, and providing a religious establishment for their clergy, came to be mooted as a condition necessary to consolidate the change produced by the Union in the constitution of the two countries, it was quickly perceived that the new plan, if successful, would necessarily overthrow the one-sided system upon which the national affairs had previously been carried on. The smaller section of the population could no longer hope to find themselves upheld in the ascendant: other participators of the privileges and emoluments of the state, so long at their sole command, would soon present themselves. The people at large, being once fairly treated, would naturally repose in content, and when they came to good terms with the Government, there would no longer be any demand for an exclusive party to keep them in submission.

These views of the future sunk deep in the minds of those who had profited by the prevailing state of things, and were sagacious enough to appreciate the advantages they derived from it. The proposed measure would not admit of open re-



sistance upon any fair exposition of the political rights and privileges to which the British constitution gives every subject an indefeasible claim, so long as he obeys the laws. It was therefore resolved to defeat the plan indirectly, and raise an opposition on religious grounds. For, as the concoctors of this new conspiracy against public order and good government well knew, reason, mercy, and the love of justice lose their proper influence over the hearts of men, whenever bigotry lets loose its prejudices to canker, as with a blight, the charities of life, and turn the sensibilities of human nature into poison.

The Orange Society grew out of the violent spirit into which the selfishness of Protestant monopoly now precipitated its animosity. Lured by the lust of power and the avarice of self-interest, the Protestants began to band themselves together by secret oaths, and in many places committed themselves with the blind fury of zealots to the trammels of their leaders. The engine was set in motion like a chariot drawn by wild horses. Sir R. Musgrave says, that the first Orange Lodge was formed in the county of Armagh, September 21, 1795; but the combination made no sensible progress until the Union was proposed. Plowden says, its object was to support the Crown as long as the Crown supported the Protestant ascendancy—and no longer. There are many grounds for believing that the disloyalty was not merely passive.

The Orange Society derived, almost in its infancy, no common degree of strength and consideration from the patronage of the Duke of York. By one of those vagaries which are sometimes exhibited for the humiliation of human nature, it pleased that prince, who led a life utterly at variance with the precepts of religion in every practical and personal respect, to appear on all public occasions as the earnest advocate and abettor of religion, or at least of that one of its various modifications which in England constitutes the established church. As part of the tactics of this part he became a patron of the Orange Lodges in Ireland so early as the year 1797. He was

then Commander in Chief, and he committed himself so far, that missives for the formation of Orange Lodges were dispatched from his office, addressed to sergeant majors and other non-commissioned officers in the regiments stationed in Ireland. This was a breach of military regulations; but whenever it was detected by a superior officer, punishment was prevented by the production of the authority from the Horse Guards.

The extent to which Mr. Pitt must be held to have bound himself to the Irish system is to be measured by Mr. Foster's development of the state of Ireland\* in the session of 1804. It is impossible to read that speech, even now, without wondering what were the Premier's thoughts while listening to its details. Mr. Foster was a clever man, but a meddler, a trickster, and self-willed to an extraordinary extent. Apart from his proceedings in connexion with the Union, he is to be regarded as one of those inconvenient persons who are sure to bring out annoying truths, whenever their friends happen to put them out of humour by disappointing or neglecting their pretensions; and who, even when favoured and gratified to the top of their bent, are so fond of showing their knowledge and penetration to be greater than is supposed, that they cannot hold their tongues and practise reserve. On this occasion Mr. Foster described Ireland as suffering from an enormous and growing increase of debt, a rapid falling off of revenue, and a general decay of commerce and manufactures. His exposure of the corruption and waste permitted in the management of the Irish revenue

\* The office in which Mr. Foster now appeared was in itself a glaring proof of the extravagance of the system. He was Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer, and associated with him were four Lords of the Irish Treasury. The Irish Excise, Customs, and Stamps, were all in like manner managed by separate boards highly paid. Even the Irish Post Office, producing a miserable revenue, had two Post Masters General, because there were two in England. The intense submission to the example of England, whenever an excuse or opportunity could be gained for creating new places or patronage, presents a striking contrast to the rigid abstinence from every measure which could advance popular institutions, or introduce the elements of freedom and responsible government.

was startling. He enumerated the balances retained in the hands of the collectors, and showed that while the last accounts of the enormous revenue of England gave a balance of £37,000 in the hands of the collectors in that country, the corresponding accounts of the Irish revenue gave a balance of £600,000 in the hands of the collectors in office in Ireland. In order to prove the rapid growth and increase of this abuse, he further stated, that at the beginning of 1803 it had amounted to £903,100. Besides this heavy arrear in the hands of the collectors in office, there also was, in the hands of collectors dismissed, an arrear of £120,000. He specified particulars: as to stamps, the whole of which were collected and paid into the stamp-office at Dublin, there was, upon a receipt of £182,000, a deficit of £8,600; and in the post-office there was an arrear of £22,000 on a revenue of £230,000.

The state of Ireland in these respects, the extent to which provision was made for political corruption, and the rapacity with which men of all grades—peers and plebeians—were allowed to prey upon the public money may be distinctly traced, by those who have patience for the task, in the journals of the House of Lords. A few specimens are requisite to justify the terms in which the system has been censured. There was a grant of £50,000, British, for civil contingencies, for the year 1802, the nature of which may be determined by a few of the first items:—

	£	s.	d.
Major-General Sir C. Asgill, to defray expenses incurred by order of Government, but not to be included in his military account . . . . .	108	11	7½
Viscount Limerick, fees and expenses of his office on occasion of writs to elect a representative peer . . . . .	345	6	2
Rev. Walter Bagot, for repairing a Church injured during the rebellion . . . . .	136	0	0
Viscount Kilwarden, Chief Justice; Viscount Avonmore, Chief Baron; and Viscount Norbury, Chief Justice; Commissioners for the custody of the Great Seal from February 6 to April 21, 1802 . . . . .	905	5	11
Lord Redesdale, Chancellor, towards his equipage and preparation for office . . . . .	1000	0	0
Robert Reeves, solicitor for forfeited estates, balance of account . . . . .	1711	13	8



	£	s.	d.
Rev. Dr. Troy for rebuilding and repairing Roman Catholic chapels	673	8	5½
To several persons, in sums not exceeding £30 each, who have been reduced in their circumstances by the late rebellion	2250	0	0

A regular charge now began to be made of moneys paid by the Treasury of Ireland for the expense of officers attending parliament in England. For the year 1802, these payments formed a total of £8631 9s. 7d. A Commons' Return, dated 11 June, 1804, of the particulars of compensation awarded to persons whose offices were discontinued or diminished in value by the Union, shows some curious items:—

Mr. Serjeant Daly thus obtained, as Prince Serjeant .	£1375	15	0
Robert Johnson, Counsel for the Commissioners of Revenue, for losses suffered whilst he continued in office, (he was made a judge in 1802) . . .	1382	12	6
The Right Honourable J. Stewart, Attorney-General, per annum . . .	2086	5	9
W. Smith, Solicitor-General, per annum . . .	1379	7	1
R. C. Carr, Solicitor for the Revenue, Ireland, per annum . . .	716	14	4½
J. Jenkinson and W. H. Freemantle, joint resident Secretaries in London to the Lord Lieutenant in Ireland, per annum . . .	2030	10	8
H. J. Yorke, Clerk of the Crown in the Chancery in England, per annum . . .	330	0	1
Viscount Limerick, Clerk of the Crown in the Chancery, Ireland . . .	405	19	8

and so on down to

Robert Neily, Porter to John Earl of Clare Lord High Chancellor, per annum . . .	34	8	6
James Flanagan, gent., Porter to the office of Chief Secretary, per annum . . .	10	0	0
To Lord Redesdale . . .	10,833	5	8
To the Right Honourable C. Abbott, per annum, Keeper of the Privy Seal in Ireland . . .	1,500	0	0
To Sir G. Shee, for the reversion of the office of Receiver-General of Customs,* per annum . . .	1,200	0	0

\* All sorts of people, and all sorts of services, were provided for at this period. There is £4,500, secret annuities, paid by the Under Secretary. Sums of money, varying from £161 to £3000 a year, are given to the Earl of Clare; and as little as £3 15s. to the Bishop of Meath; and £3 15s. 6d. to Elizabeth Litchfield, necessary woman to the Privy Council in Great Britain. A necessary woman in Dublin to the Privy Council in Great Britain!

	£	s.	d.
The whole of the annual payments then reported under this head was	32,318	14	11
And the amount of the sums in full for losses claimed was	14,967	10	9

The Lords' Papers for the year 1804, Vol. XLII. pp. 225—239, give further views of this state of things, generally and in detail. The latter would be too long to copy: the former suffice to convey more than enough in a few round numbers:—

The Irish Civil List then stood at	£145,000	0	0
„ Pensions, a year	109,333	0	0
„ Annual Payments by Act of Parliament	180,763	0	0

Irish pensions up to January 1, 1804, were, Civil	£104,258	0	0
Charity	104	0	0
Military	3,832	0	0
	£108,294	0	0

The salaries, pensions, and gratuities charged on the Customs, <i>exclusive of the salaries of the establishment</i> , were	£41,662	0	0
There were similar charges on the Excise, of	15,293	0	0
Post Office, ditto	1,334	0	0
Stamp Office, ditto	1,496	0	0
The salaries and fixed allowances of the Excise, in 1808, were, a year	135,472	0	0
Showing an annual increase, since 1804, of	75,257	0	0
The Custom House, for incidental, contingent, and extraordinary expenses, such as pensions, salaries, law charges, compensation, extra trouble, &c. paid yearly, in Dublin	152,357	0	0
And in the several ports, Dublin excepted	47,476	0	0
To these returns is appended a list of useless offices in that department, amount per year	12,509	0	0
And a list of sinecures, ditto	11,062	0	0
The reversions were monstrous. The Lord Lieutenant, Earl Hardwicke, as Clerk of the Exchequer, Common Pleas, (on the death of the Earl of Buckinghamshire, who was then living,) had given himself, a year	11,094	0	0
Lord Boyle, as Clerk of the Rolls, on the death or surrender of the Earl of Liverpool, had	3,500	0	0
These are only samples. In 1804, the commission for granting compensation to boroughs and officers extinguished at the Union was still kept up, and its expense was	23,357	0	0

The same journals show that there was a Government Paving Board—it is maintained to this day—the commissioners of which took, for salaries, £1884 in the year 1805; their allowance in 1784 having been only £285: their clerks, in 1805, had £1780; and, in 1784, £470 7s. 6d. In volume 83, Irish pensions—secret, large and small, and sinecures—are minutely entered into. But enough has been extracted to show how enormous were the abuses of the system which Mr. Pitt had engaged not to disturb, and to which the Protestant party clung to as the source and sustainment of their ascendancy.

In the year 1805 we find the Habeas Corpus Act further suspended, and the Catholics pressing forward their claims, through Lord Grenville in the House of Lords, and Mr. Fox in the House of Commons. The session was opened January 15, and the state of Ireland being represented as full of danger, it was decided that the benefit of constitutional government should still be denied to her people.\* The law passed for this purpose was moved quickly through its different stages in both houses—the process being no further noticeable at present than for some efforts laudably but ineffectually made, by Lords King and Grenville, to obtain an explanation of the conditions upon which persons hitherto imprisoned had been allowed their liberty.

Before the Catholics placed themselves in the hands of the opposition, they made a last attempt to engage the minister not to abandon them. They obtained an interview with Mr. Pitt, and besought him, with many compliments and with eloquent earnestness, still to retain their cause and its merits under his protection. But his part was taken, and the appeal was made in vain. He received them with politeness, listened

\* Another Act of this session gives a painful idea of the course of public justice at this period. This Act authorized the Lords of the Treasury to pay secret service money to the under secretaries in the absence of the chief secretary, for the purpose of detecting, preventing, or defeating treasonable or other dangerous conspiracies against the state. A provision of unusual force was attached to this measure—the person receiving the secret service money was required to swear to its due application. What a check to profligate excess—the oath of the spy and the suborner, that the wages of iniquity had been duly applied!



to them patiently, and declared his immoveable resolution to oppose their demands. He told them that it was judicious not to insist upon the object of the petition, as a matter of right and justice; that he had always considered it, as he still did, a politic and expedient measure, and therefore that the time of proposing it was an essential consideration in his mind; for the time must always enter into a measure of expediency. At that particular time there existed strong and decisive objections against proposing it to the legislature. He hinted, but did not express, what those objections were, and not only declined to present the petition, as he could not ground any measure upon it, but further declared that he should feel it his duty to resist its prayer. What a contrast between this language and the declaration made by Lord Cornwallis in 1801!

Notwithstanding this repulse, the deputation hung on the hope of still moving his resolution. They begged of him to countenance some declaratory vote or resolution in favour of the policy or expediency of concession. They would be content with an expression of the principle, and would trust to the future for its observance. They quoted Acts of Parliament already in force, and asked with anxiety for some assurance that the spirit proclaimed by them was still present in the Government; and for some sign that events were to move, if not in advance, at least not backwards. But they sued in vain. The minister was inexorable; and they left his office with every reason to be convinced that in him they had no longer a friend, an advocate, or a supporter.

Principle and truth have often been sacrificed to temporary difficulties and the exigencies of a particular occasion; but they were never surrendered, with a bolder and more mistaken firmness than by Mr. Pitt at this moment. He might, had he been so determined, have surpassed the glory of all preceding statesmen: he might have spared the empire years of subsequent misgovernment, distraction, and weakness; and saved Ireland from a complication of evils, the terror of crimes, and a depth of misery, which in this world never have been and never will be

fully recorded. But his pride, though inordinate, was not of an enlarged or noble nature. It was strong, hardened, selfish, and contracting: it wanted the full scope of genius; and when opposed, thwarted, or repelled, it drew itself arrogantly in, narrowed the aim and influence of his powers, and made him stubborn, but not great. The actual possession of office seems to have been in his eyes the only proof or means of power. He gives us no idea of a man who appealed to the general intelligence of his country or his species. We behold him, on the contrary, as one surrounded with unparallelled opportunities for good service and distinction; but who never rose to the standard of that universal sense of moral rectitude, which lives beyond the range of parties and the span of particular ages—belongs to all time, and of its own sole essence can impart sublimity to human virtue. Mr. Pitt ruled a clique of placemen, when a truer genius would have swayed a nation, and led its perverse sovereign to yield to the force of principle as gently as the willow bends to the winds.

Long, animated, and eloquent debates took place in both Houses upon the Catholic question; but no more can be done here than to record the divisions. In the Lords there appeared 49 for, and 178 against it; and in the Commons 124 for, and 336 against it.

Two cases occupied the attention of Parliament during this Session, and for sometime afterwards, which supply illustrations of the state of Ireland, painted in the strongest colours. The cases are those of Judge Johnson and Judge Fox. Keen, indeed, must have been the agony of political oppression, when its complaints could only find vent through the judges of the land. There was, properly speaking, no newspaper-press in Ireland at that time—no organ or voice of public opinion. The Habeas Corpus Act had been suspended, and martial law had been in existence for nearly seven years. Under such circumstances who would venture to speak or write—no matter what his sense of wrong, or his hopes of improvement—except in abject terms of subserviency to the Government? It was in this condition of things that Judge

Johnson addressed a series of letters, signed *Juvena*, to Mr. Cobbett, who published them in his Political Register. They censured pointedly not only the Earl of Hardwicke and Lord Redesdale, but Judge Osborne and Mr. Marsden (for many years the busiest and least scrupulous instrument of the Irish executive); and they denounced in strong language the prevailing system of government, and the corrupt manner in which places were disposed of and the patronage of the Crown distributed. For this publication Mr. Cobbett was indicted, and found guilty of a libel. When convicted, he gave up the letters, as he had received them, by post, from Ireland; and persons were soon found to swear that they were in the handwriting of Mr. Justice Johnson. It was then resolved to make an example of the offending judge; and, in order that his punishment might be more certain and signal, it was further resolved to bring him to trial in England. For this purpose an Act of Parliament was introduced by Mr. Perceval, the brother-in-law of Lord Redesdale, and Mr. Yorke, the brother of Lord Hardwicke, which without referring to the case of Judge Johnson, or to any legal proceedings of that description,—provided that, whenever “felons and other malefactors” should make their escape from Great Britain to Ireland, or *vice versâ*, then that it should be lawful for any Justice of the Peace for the place where such person should *escape, go into, reside, or be*, to indorse a warrant for apprehending and transmitting him to that part of the United Kingdom in which the offence was committed. So little was the immediate object of this Act suspected, that it passed both Houses without a word of remark. But it was no sooner law than it was construed to apply to the case of Judge Johnson. The libel, which he was charged with having written, was printed in London in November, 1803; and by an Act of Parliament, made in June, 1805, a year and a half after the commission of the alleged offence, he was arrested in his house near Dublin, brought to England, and committed to prison. Never was the oppression of *ex post facto* law more cruelly exercised or more shamelessly exposed.



Judge Johnson was attacked for conduct off the Bench, Judge Fox for his conduct upon it. The arrogance of faction displayed its boldest front in this proceeding. It was an attempt to crush a judge because he expressed independent opinions, discountenanced peculation, and was suspected of dissatisfaction when orange juries acquitted persons charged with murder upon the clearest evidence. There were eight charges brought against him by the Marquis of Abercorn; and for two years his character and rank were fiercely assailed. The Government defrayed, and as usual, with a lavish hand, the expense of the witnesses and the evidence brought against him: as much as £30,000 were said to have been paid in this way; but the whole case broke completely down. The only fact charged, that was proved, redounded to the Judge's honour. A man had been tried before him for murder; the evidence clearly proved guilt: but the prisoner was acquitted. Judge Fox did not rebuke the jury; but he directed the Clerk of the Crown to record his wish that they should never again be called upon to try a capital charge. The House of Lords ultimately refused to proceed with the inquiry, and Judge Fox retained his seat upon the bench. Judge Johnson, after having been tried and convicted before Lord Ellenborough, retired upon a pension.

Mr. Pitt's compromise of his principles gave him but a short and uneasy tenure of his office. The French war proceeded, with a series of rapid successes to the enemy and severe reverses to England and her allies. The victory of Austerlitz was followed by the treaty of Presburg. Dissatisfaction and complaint began to spread; the ministerial party wavered and declined; Lord Melville, the most intimate of his colleagues, was impeached by the House of Commons; Mr. Addington, recently created a lord, sowed dissensions in the cabinet: he resigned—revoked his resignation—resigned again—and finally tried to form a party against the Premier. These intrigues opened the office of War and Colonial Secretary to Lord Castlereagh. But here again a new defeat was sustained. The freeholders of the county of Down refused to

re-elect Lord Castlereagh as their member; and thus the Irish minister, most instrumental in carrying the Union, was repudiated by his Irish constituents as soon as the measure had begun to work. Thus discomfited in various quarters, and equally broken down in political reputation and bodily strength, Mr. Pitt suddenly prorogued the Parliament. It met again on the 20th of January, 1806, and on the 26th of that month he ceased to live.

This event put an end to the Lord Lieutenancy of the Earl of Hardwicke, and the Irish permitted him to leave their shores without paying him any marked tribute of sympathy or regret. It was recorded that only one city (Dublin), one county (Mayo), and one loyal cavalry corps (that of Crossmolena), presented addresses on this occasion. For a short time it was the boast of the Hardwicke administration, that the system of terror and personal tyranny discountenanced by Lord Cornwallis had not been revived; that the extraordinary powers given to him, of trying by martial law and of suspending the Habeas Corpus Act, had not been severely enforced. Looking at the past, there was unquestionably something to challenge praise in these things; but the praise, such as it was, applied only to a short period of the administration; and even of that it must be held, that it was the only line of good policy that could have been taken. Forbearance from excess is an ordinary duty—to have the power to tyrannize, and not to use it, is a virtue certainly; but it is also one which, amongst well regulated minds, will always be rewarded with moderate commendation. The true complexion of Lord Hardwicke's system was soon developed. Although he never ceased to make professions of impartiality, of mild conduct, and a gracious abstinence from offence to the Roman Catholics; he demonstrated, in a manner not to be mistaken, that the ascendancy faction was the mainstay of his government. His purpose was systematically proved by his practices. In details, his government was one of police myrmidons, spies, floggers, torturers, and informers. He suborned the most venal newspaper-press that ever betrayed the

interests of a country; he maintained, at their full heat and intensity, all the established corruptions of place-hunting, pensioning, jobbing, and bribery. By these base courses the old antagonism of the population, ruinous to the prosperity of the country, was preserved and strengthened: the majority was mistrusted, secluded, degraded, yet on certain public occasions bowed to by the authorities with courteous ceremony and formal respect; while the minions of power, who shared all its honours and employments, worried them with systematic insult, and exasperated them with indignities the most galling to bear. It is impossible to review the proceedings of this period without a feeling of horror at the cruelties that were practised. The number of men who were flogged, hung, transported, and imprisoned, was enormous. But above all, the mind is filled with loathing and indignation, by the hollow pretence, so often put forward, that this was an impartial, a pure, and a religious government!

The ministry that took office in the month of February, 1806, although called Lord Grenville's, was in reality Mr. Fox's. In the genius of that illustrious man lay its strength and reputation, as well as its main hold upon the public confidence; so that when he, within the same year, followed Mr. Pitt to his grave in Westminster Abbey, the career of his colleagues was foredoomed to a speedy close. The Duke of Bedford went to Ireland, with Mr. George Ponsonby as Lord Chancellor, Sir J. Newport as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Plunkett and Mr. Bushe as Attorney and Solicitor Generals. This was a good change of men. There was also a change of policy and of measures.

The policy, it is true, was not the most liberal, nor were the measures of a very comprehensive nature. Upon the whole, however, they afforded considerable satisfaction. Public affairs were seen to move in a better direction. Such an administration in Ireland was felt to be an experiment, tried in the midst of adverse circumstances; but it gave room for hope, and men's energies rose as the political horizon grew more clear and a prospect of improved times appeared in view.



The return of the Irish Whigs to power was not unmarked by some of those disingenuous and unfair proceedings which have too often left a taint on their possession of office. They are remarkable as a party for the trimming deference they pay to the prejudices of their opponents; for the repudiation, every now and then, of a staunch ally; and not unfrequently for the perpetration of a gross job, in them the more gross, because so much at variance with the principles of retrenchment which have always been their stepping-stones to power. On this occasion Lord Grenville reduced the principles of the new ministry to writing, and then read them to the King. The paper made no mention of measures for the relief of the Roman Catholics—and yet it is impossible to suppose that the subject was not uppermost at that moment in the minds of all parties! Mr. Curran, who was to have been Lord Fitzwilliam's Solicitor-General, was again passed over in the legal arrangements for Ireland. It was urged that he had so exposed, in his professional capacity, the enormities, and denounced the oppression, of the late governments; that he had so constantly defended and so often saved from punishment rebels and political libellers; that he had, by the freedom and effect with which he habitually exercised his unmatched powers of oratory, so thrown the soul of his genius into their cause, as to have made it almost his own—and thus it was pretended that he had, in a manner, disqualified himself for the confidential service of the Crown. The Whigs were weak enough to truckle to these misrepresentations, and to exclude him from the post of Attorney-General, to which he ought now to have succeeded. But he was too popular and too powerful to be neglected altogether: it was necessary to provide for him one way or another. The character, not of the party only but of the individual, was affected. Overtures were accordingly made to Sir M. Smith, Master of the Rolls; and a bargain having been struck with that dignitary, including a pension for himself, and pensions for the officers of his court, the place was given to Mr. Curran.

This transaction was in no respect a creditable one. The

Whigs stood disgraced by the indecent terms upon which they induced Sir M. Smith to retire prematurely from the Bench, and Mr. Curran certainly did not consult his dignity when he consented to become an equity judge upon such terms—all his experience and his fame having been acquired at Common Law. At such a crisis, he should have stood upon his well-earned character as a public man. That would not have failed him; but office fascinates the Irishman more than any other man, and even Curran was unable to resist the glitter of its attractions.

The Roman Catholics generously resolved not to embarrass the new government by immediately pressing forward their claims. It was impossible for them not to mark their appreciation of the difference exhibited by Mr. Fox's treatment of their cause and Mr. Pitt's. Both these ministers, when applied to upon taking office, advised the same course as the prudent one—namely, a postponement for the time of Parliamentary appeals. But Mr. Pitt compromised, while Mr. Fox maintained, his consistency. Mr. Pitt proudly condemned, Mr. Fox earnestly deprecated, an immediate introduction of the subject. Mr. Pitt declared that he would oppose that which he admitted to be expedient; and he did oppose it. Mr. Fox was too noble to stoop to such a course: he recommended the Roman Catholics to withhold their petition for a time. "If, however," he added, "it should, notwithstanding our wishes, be presented, I will support it with all my power; but the divisions of last year, and the opinions which have been industriously propagated in this country, make me despair of success, unless we could have active assistance from a quarter, in which to look for passive acquiescence is probably more than we can reasonably expect. If we are beat—which we certainly shall be; and if the fall of our ministry should follow—which may be the case; you run the risk of a ministry being formed on the avowed principle of defeating your claims; and thus you would put all hope further off than ever." This frank and manly appeal availed. The Roman Catholics did not petition, and their confidence in the Whigs was rewarded: first, by an increase of £5,000 in the grant to Maynooth

College; and, afterwards, by an attempt to pass a bill for admitting them to hold commissions in the army and navy—a proposal which led quickly to another change of ministry, formed, as Mr. Fox's sagacity had enabled him to predict, “upon the avowed principle of defeating their claims.”

There were other measures of the Whigs in Ireland during this short tenure of office, which deserve to be remembered. The act for suspending the Habeas Corpus was permitted to expire. Some reform of the magistracy took place. Acts were passed for regulating elections, affording relief to the poor, and managing hospitals and infirmaries; for the lighting and cleansing of towns; for regulating and securing the collection of the revenue; and for appointing commissioners to inquire into the funds and revenues granted for the purposes of education, and into the state and condition of schools in Ireland. Last of all, Mr. Marsden, the obnoxious Secretary of Civil Affairs at the Castle of Dublin, was at length exonerated from the discharge of secret services and the charge of the secret service money, by being made a Commissioner of Inland Excise and Taxes.

This was the work of the year 1806, towards the close of which agrarian disturbances, attended with more than usual violence, broke out in the counties of Mayo, Sligo, Leitrim, and Roscommon. Rack rents and road jobbing, for both of which middlemen were denounced as more blameable than head landlords, and the exactions of tithe proctors, were reluctantly assigned as the exciting causes of these outbreaks. The men who committed them were called Threshers, and the Whigs claimed and deserved credit for quieting them by the ordinary process of constitutional trial and punishment.

Mr. Fox was now no more, and his prediction to the Roman Catholics was about to be fulfilled with terrible exactness—all hope for them was put further off than ever. The circumstances under which George III. dismissed the Grenville ministry are destined to live in history. They had proposed, as already stated, a bill for admitting Roman Catholics to hold Commissions in the Army and Navy, which was instantly



opposed by Mr. Perceval, "as the beginning of a system dangerous to the Constitution and the Protestant establishment." In this course he was riotously supported by the Church party.

Lord Sidmouth, a principal instrument in discomfiting Mr. Pitt's ministry, and who had been admitted by Lord Grenville to the office of Lord Privy Seal, threatened to go into opposition; the Duke of York and some of his political friends were admitted to private interviews with the King; several men, the holders of subordinate offices in Mr. Pitt's government, grew suddenly into consequence, and assumed a corresponding confidence; and ere long the storm grew so loud and strong, that the Cabinet offered to modify or withdraw the bill. The moment this proof of weakness was given the King sought to turn it to an undue advantage, and render his ministers contemptible, if not criminal. He offered to retain them in his service if they would give him a written pledge not to propose any further concessions to the Catholics. There are few instances of inconsistency upon record more unscrupulous than this. The pledge demanded was unconstitutional in the highest degree. Nothing of the sort had ever been heard of before. The right of the meanest subject, as Mr. Plunkett well observed, "to lay a petition before the throne, had long been established; but here was a restriction upon the claims of millions. This was not a mere novelty—it was a prodigy. Only unbounded power or unerring wisdom could have imposed such a pledge." Then, as to conscience! The King, it was urged, entertained scruples; he put a particular construction upon his coronation oath, and wished to protect his conscience. But his ministers also had taken an oath. Every member of the Cabinet had sworn "to give full, fair, and open counsel to the Sovereign;" and "to advise him upon all occasions to the best of his judgment." But here was a subject upon which the minister was to bind himself on no occasion to advise the Sovereign. George III. in seeking to exact the proposed pledge, may have consulted his own ease, and also his own conscience; but it is quite clear that

he had neither care nor regard for the reputation or the consciences of his ministers. They rejected his overture, and were immediately dismissed.

It had taken just a year, a month, and a day—counting by the dates of the patents of the two Lord Lieutenants—to bring “the Irish difficulty” out in sufficient force to break up the administration of affairs again. Cabinet succeeded cabinet, and it hung upon each in its turn like the foreshadow of fate. The men who had contrived to make, and now proposed to fill, the vacant places, combined further in an attempt to grapple with the monster, tread it under foot, and keep it always down. Protestant ascendancy was openly proclaimed as their ruling policy. But Edmund Burke’s explanation of the phrase, “in plain old English,” was not added by way of note—“pride and dominion on one part of the relation, and on the other subserviency and contempt.” The Duke of Portland was the nominal, and Mr. Perceval the real, head of this government. Mr. Canning was its Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and Lord Castlereagh Secretary for the Colonies and War. They sent the Duke of Richmond to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant. Another Englishman, Lord Manners, obtained the Irish Court of Chancery, while the future Duke of Wellington, fresh from his first victories in India, made a diversion from military into political life, by taking the place of Secretary for Ireland, as Sir Arthur Wellesley. Thus composed, the government not only stood pledged against the Roman Catholic claims, but they acted so energetically upon the spirit of exclusion, as to throw off the semblance of moderation or conciliation. One of their first measures was an Irish Arms Bill.\* This was followed, in 1808, by a Dublin Police Bill; which not only deprived the city

\* Singularly enough, the passing of this law was followed by an extensive rising of the peasantry. In 1807 we first hear of the Shanavests and Caravats—local factions, who quarrelled and beat each other to death—the cause of their crimes being disputes about land. They were subsequently charged with attempts to fix general rates of tithe and rent, and to enforce an observance of them by threatening to call at the houses of those who should dare to depart from the standard rates.

of its chartered rights, but entailed an expense of £40,000 a-year, and created eighteen new offices, each at £500 salary. Every thing was carried with a high hand, and a keen regard to patronage. Uncompromising bigotry and despotic intolerance were the qualities recognized, in Ireland at least, as recommendations for office. Jack Giffard, the mouthpiece of the Corporation of Dublin, in their embittered opposition to the Roman Catholic claims, was promoted to a valuable office in the Customs; and Mr. Duigenan, another coarse declaimer against them, was made Judge of the Prerogative Court. The grant to Maynooth was reduced; and it is a noticeable fact, that a daring adherence to this line of policy availed to keep this party in power for a quarter of a century.

The Whigs however had retired with dignity, and formed an opposition of formidable strength. The Roman Catholics, who had felt the blow dealt them by the formation of the Perceval ministry so severely as to have recalled, in April, the determination to petition anew which they had come to in February, rallied their force in 1808, and were again in the field. The Irish members of the party acted with effective spirit; and it is not to be doubted that the cause of improved government in Ireland, as well as the claims of the Roman Catholics, were much better served by the Whigs in opposition, than they would have been by the Whigs in office. The Parliament now elected was nicknamed the "No Popery Parliament." In its first session, Mr. Parnell moved for a commission to inquire into the mode of collecting tithes in Ireland; and made out so strong a case that Mr. Perceval was driven to get rid of the motion by announcing that he had gone so far as to prepare a bill upon the subject. This was in 1808. In 1809, Mr. Parnell revived the question; but the ministerial leader, emboldened by the strength of his party, was then able to announce with impunity, that the case was so full of difficulties, he had neither bill to propose nor measure to adopt.

In point of fact, the Church, abetted by the rotten boroughs and close corporations in both countries, had by this time



succeeded in marshalling a party so rampant, as to induce the minister to believe that his best way of gaining credit and confirming his strength, was to reject every proposal brought forward for redressing the grievances and relieving the condition of Ireland. Lord Castlereagh's effrontery, on some of these occasions, was matchless. He even went so far this year (1809) as to assert, that "he knew of no pledge made either by Mr. Pitt or himself upon the subject of tithes or the Roman Catholic question." He was at that time the colleague of Lord Eldon in the cabinet; and we know that, in 1802, Lord Redesdale, writing to his brother Chancellor, had contradicted Lord Castlereagh in these terms:—"Lord Cornwallis and Lord Castlereagh are *both pledged, as they say*, to the Roman Catholics; and I feel that the former struggle has only produced delay, and that the measure will be carried in a worse way than that in which it was originally proposed." (*Twiss's Eldon*, Vol. I. p. 431.) Lord Redesdale never enjoyed the reputation of being a wise man, but he was evidently something of a prophet.

The unblushing manner in which the old system of corruption was adhered to may be seen, by the curious in such matters, in the debates on Mr. Beauchamp Hill's case—an officer of Excise reported guilty of receiving presents of twenty guineas a year from the owner of every whisky still in his district; but who, although thus rendered by statute incapable of holding any place of trust or profit under the Crown, was promoted to the office of Inspector-General.\* Other consequences of the prevailing policy appeared in fierce array. The orange conspiracy was extended in numerous directions, and led to frightful crimes. Whole regiments of militia were sworn in as orangemen, and they did not affect to conceal that they held their allegiance *to the Crown* to be conditional upon

\* The facts disclosed in connection with this case, and stated to the House during the debate, were of unprecedented enormity. It appeared by a recent report of the Excise and Customs' Commissioners that, in one instance, the proper amount of duties was £158,114, and the amount actually collected was £17,114! In Mr. Hill's department, that of Private Distilleries, the sum of the frauds committed in one year was £856,000.

the maintenance of their principles *by* the Crown. The case of *Butler v. Howard*, tried at Kilkenny in the year 1810, made this dangerous fact no longer a matter of dispute. Numerous outrages, often terminating in murder, were committed by orangemen; and, more melancholy still, the murderers when put upon their trial were frequently acquitted in the teeth of the clearest evidence of their guilt.

In this year, 1809, Mr. Canning and Lord Castlereagh quarrelled in the cabinet and fought a duel. Having resorted to pistols they proceeded after the Irish fashion, *à l'outrance*. They fired four times at each other, but inflicted no wound. The event is only mentioned here, because, when they resigned their offices, the light pretension to regard for the Catholics, which their presence in the cabinet, coupled occasionally with a few valueless professions, might have been held to warrant, was altogether withdrawn.

A demonstration in favour of the Repeal of the Union took place about this time, which deserves a passing notice. It was chiefly the work of the Protestant party, and was the second ebullition of the kind that had occurred. In 1805, Mr. Fox, when speaking in his official capacity, upon the motion for giving funeral honours to the Marquis of Cornwallis, had characterized the Union as one of the most disgraceful transactions in which the government of any country had been involved. Such an opinion, delivered by such a man, and upon such an occasion, produced considerable excitement: after an interval of some days an explanation was called for by the Tories. It was given, but does not appear to have proved very satisfactory:—Mr. Fox conceived that he had spoken very intelligibly, but he never refused explanation. He adhered to every syllable he had uttered relative to the Union upon the motion for funeral honours to Lord Cornwallis. But when he reprobated a thing as done, he said nothing prospectively. However bad the measure had been, an attempt to repeal it, without the most urgent solicitation from the parties interested, should not be made; and hitherto none such had come to his knowledge. Upon

this language several of the corporate companies in Dublin held meetings, and resolved to petition for a Repeal of the Union. But the stir was a slight one, and soon subsided. In the summer of 1810 it was revived with considerable effect. The Corporation of Dublin, an exclusively Protestant body, noted for its hostility to the Roman Catholics and to liberal measures; the grand jurors of the city; the citizens, freemen, and freeholders, with the high sheriff in the chair; all met and agreed to petition for the Repeal of the Union. At this last meeting Mr. O'Connell supported the question in a speech which attracted immediate attention. It was printed on a large sheet of paper, with his portrait at the top, and in that shape met with extensive circulation.

This was not the first occasion on which Daniel O'Connell had appeared as a public man. His name was associated with the cause of which he was destined to be the successful champion as early as the year 1807, when he was appointed a member of the committee charged with the preparation of petitions to Parliament for the removal of Roman Catholic disabilities. He had not long stood forward to seek that object before he became its leader, and organized the Roman Catholic body with a force and effect never witnessed before. From this time forward his life is the history of his country. The same thing happened in the case of Grattan, and so it must always be, when misgovernment prevails extensively. The reformer of great abuses becomes the centre of political action, and all minor interests and proceedings converge upon his movements.

We have now to deal with that division of the recent history of Ireland which is comprised in the solicitation and success, of the Catholic question. It is not easy to convey, in a general outline, a correct idea of the course of events thus eliminated; and yet there is not sufficient interest in the details to warrant a minute account of them. Even from the first the advantage evidently lay with the Roman Catholics. Apart from the abstract point of right, it was obvious that the intelligence of the age supported, while its narrow-mindedness resisted,



their claims. No statesman could be insensible to the weighty fact, that Burke, Pitt, and Fox, had concurred in condemning the penal laws, and desiring their repeal. Still the prejudices of the English people were deeply moved in a contrary direction, while the existence of the ascendant faction in Ireland was staked on the issue of the struggle. Hence the uncertain, devious, and yet energetic courses taken, both by the advocates and opponents of the measure, and the varying fortune which imparts interest to its progress. At one time it is seen advancing like a huge tide, with an impetus that threatens to carry every thing before it; but the wave recedes, the cause is drawn back with equal force, and for a time seems to be irrecoverably lost. Suddenly it re-appears, and in a quarter where it was least expected. Some high office cannot be filled: men stand still and wonder; but the truth oozes out by degrees—the vacancy is occasioned by the difficulties of the Roman Catholic question. Thus contradictions, compromises, and partial concessions, on the part of the Government, are seen to follow each other in rapid confusion, mixed up with official and parliamentary denunciations, repressive laws, and as sharp an application of their penalties as the courts of justice can be made to enforce. On the side of the Catholics, we remark eloquence in all its styles, the passions in all their modes, and agitation in all its eccentricity and violence—but respected even when most feared; because it has sprung from the pure fountain of strict justice, is guided by consummate talent, and bears with it under all vicissitudes the destiny of natural success.

O'Connell may be said to have been fully at work with this question in the year 1809. Thus, for the period of twenty years, the Catholic claims formed not only the essence of Irish affairs, but a main ingredient of the national politics, affecting all its combinations, and more or less influencing all its aims. Tithes and the tenure of land were strong under-currents in Ireland—breaking occasionally to the surface, and showing, wherever they appeared, that the diseased state of the country

was not assignable to a single cause. But fiercely as these made themselves felt at times, they yielded in point of intensity, and were superseded in the public mind by the superior force of the Roman Catholic cause.

We are told that there was once a clan Connell; but the records of its greatness, preserved by the Irish annalists, are scanty.\* The family is an old one, and had long been resident in the county of Kerry, without being distinguished there. This involves no ground of reproach: adherence to the faith of his forefathers for many ages deprived the Irish Roman Catholic of his estate, and excluded him from every office of trust, emolument, or honour. He could not make himself distinguished. Towards the end of the last century, Daniel O'Connell, of Darrynane Abbey, in this county, had three sons—Maurice, who succeeded him in the possession of Darrynane; Morgan, who lived at Carhen, near the town of Cahirciveen; and Daniel, who, entering the Irish brigade, became a general in that corps, a count of the German empire, and a colonel of the British army upon the restoration of the Bourbons.

Daniel, the Agitator, was born at Carhen, August 6, 1775. His father's means being limited, he was sent to school at the Cove of Cork, by his uncle Maurice of Darrynane, who, being childless, may be said to have adopted him from an early age. As he grew up, the profession of Count O'Connell helped to gain him the benefit of a good classical education on the Continent. He studied successively at the Colleges of Louvaine, Douay, and St. Omer. It was only at this last place that he is stated to have shown talent. According to the biography by his son John, the reverend fathers of Saint Omer were so struck by the force of his character and abilities, as to predict his future great-

\* O'Connell, especially in his latter days, was vain of his descent from this clan. He assumed, as its representative, the badge of nobility—supporters to his coat of arms—and a boastful motto, said to have belonged to them of old, which, translated from the Irish, means, "The eye of O'Connell the safety of Erin."

ness. Returning to Ireland, he adopted the law as his profession, and was called to the Bar in Easter Term, 1798.

The first efforts made by the Catholics to bring their case before the legislature, during Mr. Perceval's administration, were in some respects infelicitous. They raised of their own accord the *Veto* point. Lord Grenville in the one house, and Mr. Grattan in the other, announced, upon authority, that the Roman Catholics were prepared to give the Crown a negative in the appointment of their bishops; that is to say, the Crown was in every instance to approve the choice made by the see of Rome, otherwise the election was to be void. On the Continent, this privilege was exercised, with the Pope's consent, by the King of Prussia, a Protestant, as well as by the Emperor of Austria, a Roman Catholic; and it was conceived that its adoption in England would operate as a check upon any undue subjection of the Roman Catholic hierarchy to a foreign potentate, as a security to the Established Church, and as an antidote to the King's scruples. But although the sanction of the see of Rome was formally given to the introduction of the plan, on this occasion, it was soon repudiated by a large portion of the Roman Catholic body in Ireland. The dispute lasted for some years, and its effect was injurious; not only because it showed dissension, but because, by opening the question of securities, it gave the adversary an indefinite range of objection, by enabling him to call for securities upon every occasion, and to pronounce all that were offered inadequate.

The Prince of Wales became Regent in 1811. The advancement of the friend and companion of Fox, of Sheridan, of Moira, of Moore, and all the leading wits and liberal politicians of the day, was at first held to argue well for their party and the cause of the Roman Catholics. That idea, however, soon ceased to be entertained. The Prince, an ungovernable sensualist, full of ostentation and destitute of feeling, belied all the promises of his youth and the hopes of friendship. Meantime, the Catholics began to systematize



their agitation. A body was regularly formed under the name of the Catholic Committee, which held frequent meetings, and proceeded to discuss with freedom and severity those bearings of the law which pressed most severely upon their condition. With such topics to expatiate upon, the speeches of the members naturally became violent. O'Connell drew up two long reports—one on the penal code, and the other on the treatment of Catholic soldiers; other men, whose names are now forgotten, aided the movement, and ere long the Government resolved to interfere.

Early in the year 1811, the Roman Catholics in every county in Ireland were called upon to elect delegates to prepare petitions to Parliament; and to meet in Dublin, and there form “a General Committee of the Catholics of Ireland.” This missive was met by a circular, addressed to the magistrates throughout the country, by Mr. Wellesley Pole, then Secretary for Ireland, which referred to the Act of Parliament passed in 1793, and known as the Convention Act, from the Convention of Dungannon, against which it was principally directed; and advising that all meetings constituted within the meaning of that law, should be dispersed, and the parties held to bail.

The Catholics proceeded with their design—nothing daunted by this manifesto; and the Government, equally bold,\* put the law in force against them. In Dublin, two meetings—the one with Lord French, and the other with Lord Fingal in the chair—were dispersed by police magistrates, and criminal informations were lodged against six persons. Of these,

\* The length to which the Cabinet was prepared to go in this matter is evinced in a letter from Mr. Perceval to Lord Eldon, dated July 25, 1811, given in Twiss's Life. “I should be prepared,” writes Mr. Perceval, “to advise a prosecution against such an illegal assembly, even if I had more doubts as to its illegality; because, I feel assured that, if the Irish Government is to be upheld at all, such an assembly, nosing it in its metropolis, cannot be endured; and that the prosecution will bring the question to a fair issue: for, *if the law is not at present strong enough to prevent it, it must be made so.* And I have no doubt that, if we take our measures wisely, (that is, upon full proof that the assembly is truly *representative*, however its title may be disguised,) Parliament will see the necessity of putting it down.”

Dr. Sheridan was the first brought to trial, and he was acquitted. His party immediately attempted to turn the tables on the Government, by prosecuting Chief Justice Downes, who had signed the warrant for his arrest; but, when that proceeding was demurred to by the Crown, it was permitted to drop. Another delegate, Mr. Kirwan, was then arraigned; and he was convicted. The Government, having so far established their construction of the law, deemed it politic to ask for no more than a nominal fine, and consented to discontinue the remaining prosecutions.

In 1812, Mr. Perceval was assassinated in the lobby of the House of Commons. The executive, thus deprived of its principal adviser, had no sooner moved to supply the loss, than the Irish difficulty raised its head, with every feature and characteristic as severe and formidable as ever. Adjustment, compromise, and conciliation again were essayed; and again they failed of effect. The Marquis Wellesley and Mr. Canning took the lead in the negotiations now resorted to. They proposed the formation, as the Marquis expressed it, of a Cabinet on an intermediary principle respecting the Roman Catholic claims—exempt on the one hand from the dangers of instant, unqualified concession; and from those of inconsiderate, peremptory exclusion on the other: so that the entire resources of the empire might be applied to the great objects of the war. If this combination came to be carried, the Marquis was to be First Lord of the Treasury; and Lord Moira, Lord Erskine, and Mr. Canning were to have seats in the Cabinet. But the Tories were too strong, and too well-pleased with undivided sway, to give this specious scheme a chance of success. One objection was raised against it after another, and it ultimately fell to the ground, because the Prince insisted upon being allowed to choose, according to his own pleasure, the great officers of the household; while the Whigs desired that they should be appointed by the Cabinet. The Whigs, no doubt, were in the right: theirs was the constitutional practice, and most reasonably so; for no government could be either steady or efficient, with the palace at all times

open to the formation of a cabal against it. They had suffered enough as a party, from the mischief of secret advisers under George III., to favour the reconstruction of such a body under the new order of things ; and although the Prince had not exhibited, as yet, all his father's obstinacy, he had already displayed more than his father's insincerity.

The form into which the ministry finally resolved itself excited no interest : Lord Liverpool, War and Colonial Secretary, became First Lord of the Treasury ; Lord Castlereagh, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and leader in the House of Commons ; Mr. Peel, Under Secretary for the Colonies, became Secretary for Ireland ; and the Secretary to the Admiralty was Mr. John Wilson Croker, an Irishman, who had drawn upon himself some share of public notice, and not in the most flattering manner, during the course of the inquiry relating to the Duke of York and Mrs. Clarke.\* So weak was the Liverpool Cabinet thought at the time it was formed, as to be deemed incapable of withstanding the impending shocks of the current session. Yet it endured, without any

\* Mr. Croker made his way into the House of Commons as member for Downpatrick in 1807. He cross-examined Mrs. Clarke, and " caught a Tartar." Demanding to know how often she had seen a Mr. Dowler, the lady retorted, " I believe the honourable gentleman can tell pretty well ; for his garret window, very convenient for his prying disposition, overlooks my house." In 1808, Mr. Croker published anonymously a pamphlet entitled, " A Sketch of Ireland, Past and Present." It was answered, a year after, by another and very inferior pamphlet in point of style and effect, entitled, " A Defence of Ireland ; or, a Refutation of National Calumnies, &c., by Erigena." Mr. Croker's summary of the state of things produced by the Union was epigrammatically expressed—as " a quicksand government, that swallows in its fluctuations every venture at reform. In seven years we have had four chief Governors and eight chief Secretaries, of different principles and parties, each stifling the abortive system of his predecessor by a system equally abortive." Plowden notices the production in his History, with some animadversions, saying of the author—" He affects the patriot, and libels his country. In proclaiming himself unbiassed, he betrays prejudice, bigotry, and fear : he owns that in Ireland impartiality seldom thinks and never writes, and anticipating his own fate of being heard by few and offending many, he adds—this is my situation—the inevitable fate of cotemporary truth." Mr. Croker dedicated his pamphlet to the Marquis Wellesley as a patron, and took office under his political opponents.



essential modification of policy or change of men, for fifteen years, and was then only broken up by the last illness of its Premier. Catholic emancipation was recognized as an open question; Mr. Canning was taken back; the Duke of Wellington joined, as Master-General of the Ordnance, in 1818; and Mr. Peel, as Secretary for the Home Department, in 1822: but these were the gradations of colleagues, not accessions of strength, or the introduction either of new men or new opinions.

No time was lost in pressing forward the established "difficulty." The usual petitions had been presented, and the annual motions founded upon them had been disposed of: still Ireland was the battle-field, and Emancipation the rallying cry. A prospective motion therefore was resorted to. The Marquis Wellesley in the Lords, and Mr. Canning in the Commons, moved resolutions to take into consideration, early in the next session, the state of the laws affecting the Roman Catholics, with a view to such an adjustment as might be conducive to the peace and strength of the United Kingdom, to the stability of the Protestant establishment, and to the general satisfaction and concord of all classes of his Majesty's subjects. Mr. Canning, after a most brilliant speech and a debate of four nights, carried his motion by a large majority—235 to 106. The question immediately assumed another aspect, and for a time appeared on the eve of success. In the next session, Mr. Grattan's motion for leave to bring in a bill passed by a majority of forty; and when Sir I. C. Hip-pesley opposed the second reading, by proposing that the Veto point should first be settled, he was defeated by a majority of 48. That question, however, had so confused the subject, and had so divided the friends of the cause, as to occasion the loss of the bill. Mr. Canning gave notice of a set of clauses, by which it was proposed to regulate the appointment of Roman Catholic Bishops by means of a mixed Board of Protestants and Roman Catholics. This plan was so crude in itself, and it provoked so many dissensions and such vehement protests, that the impolicy of attempting to

legislate upon terms so little satisfactory to the parties most affected became apparent, and there was a majority against the first clause moved in committee. The measure was then abandoned.

Mr. Peel's discharge of the duties of Irish Secretary rendered him extremely unpopular in Ireland. The Orange lodges, so long perniciously rooted in that country, had begun to spread in England. They were formed in London, Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, and other towns. As their legality was more than suspected, they were soon made the subject of parliamentary notice. Mr. Peel became their apologist, if not their defender; and the Irish took revenge in a pun, nicknaming him "Orange Peel." He re-organized the police, introducing "superintending magistrates and additional constables;" and again the Irish marked their sense of this further attempt to keep them quiet "upon compulsion," by nicknaming the police—"Peelers." Other measures of an energetic character followed—such as bills for the preservation of the peace, for the suppression of unlawful assemblies, and for rendering more easy and effectual the redress of assaults. These, and the whole battery of the statute book, were actively administered by Mr. Attorney-General Saurin; and, to crown all, the Catholic Board was proclaimed an unlawful assembly. This brought O'Connell and the Irish Secretary into personal collision: a challenge was given and received; but they never fought—the one being held to bail in Ireland, the other in England. The particulars have ceased to carry interest, and are not worth recording.

Mr. Peel made his first speech against the Catholic claims, upon Mr. Canning's successful motion, in 1812. His tone was moderate, and his conclusion wary. He referred, on the one hand, to the concessions already made, and desired to know where they were to stop; but, on the other hand, though he would give his negative to a motion which, in the present instance at least, was unnecessary, he would by no means pledge himself on the Catholic question: that was now

an open one. Lord Castlereagh voted against his colleagues with Mr. Canning. Mr. Peel was in the minority; but his language does not enable us to determine with precision what his real opinions then were upon the subject: it can only be said that he did not commit himself. The anti-Catholic party was divided into two well-defined sections. There were those who resisted conditionally, upon the ground of political expediency; and there were those who opposed unconditionally, upon the ground that Church and State were both essentially Protestant, and that the constitution would be violated if the Roman Catholics were admitted to Parliament and the higher offices of government. Although with that caution which has so invariably been the characteristic of his political career, Mr. Peel did not on this occasion incline to either of these sections; yet he afterwards seemed disposed to take rank with the extreme one, arguing that Catholic emancipation must endanger Protestant ascendancy: for, a few days afterwards, when supporting Dr. Duigenan's motion that the bill be read a second time that day three months—he said: “I protest against the principle of this bill, because it confers upon those who admit an external jurisdiction the right of legislating in all matters connected with the Church of England. I protest against this bill, because it is not conformable to the resolution of the House on which it professes to be founded, which resolution certainly adopts the principle of concession, but a concession connected with the strongest and most distinct securities for the Established Church”—as to which, after adverting to other topics, he winds up by asking, “Under such circumstances, how can we hope to maintain Protestant ascendancy?”

In 1821, when Mr. Plunkett carried the usual motion by a small majority, Mr. Peel's opinion upon the main issue appeared wavering and uncertain. “He could most conscientiously assure the House that no result of the debate could give him unqualified satisfaction. He was, of course, bound to wish that the opinions which he honestly felt might prevail; but their prevalence must still be mingled with regret at the



disappointment which he knew the success of such opinions must entail upon a great portion of his fellow subjects. If, however, the motion succeeded, no man who heard him would more cordially rejoice if his predictions proved unfounded, his arguments groundless, and that the result should exemplify the sanguine expectations of the right honourable mover, and give an increased confidence to all classes of his Majesty's subjects in that interesting country in which such union and harmony were most desirable."

Mr. Peel ceased to be Irish Secretary in the year 1819, and for a time held no ministerial place. He was succeeded by Mr. C. Grant, afterwards Lord Glenelg, a well-known friend to the Catholics—amiable in character, just in all his political views, temperate in action, and for these reasons far more successful in the execution of his difficult office than any of his predecessors. Mr. Grant's appointment was a tribute to the growing strength of the Catholic cause. The Earl Talbot, then Lord Lieutenant, was against them; but he was a moderate or middle-course man, glad to let affairs take their course, without seeking to make it more galling by the force or activity of particular exertions. This was the beginning of the piebald system; according to which, when the Lord Lieutenant entertained an opinion against the Catholic claims, he was furnished with a Chief Secretary who voted for them, and *vice versâ*.

In 1820, died Henry Grattan, the man who had no equal in his own time, and has had no successor: he was put into the English Parliament as member for Malton, by Earl Fitzwilliam, in 1805, and he added in the English to the fame he had acquired in the Irish House of Commons. Having been soon restored to an Irish constituency, he ever after sat for Dublin. Like all other great men, it was his lot to encounter the fluctuations of popularity and the vicissitudes of political attachment. His support of the Irish Insurrection Act, in 1807, took the Irish liberals by surprise; his advocacy of the wars against Napoleon offended the more forward of that party in England; and his strong advocacy of the Veto

led to many expressions of discontent among the Roman Catholics. Irritated by the firmness with which he clung to the principle of securities for the Established Church, O'Connell made an effort to place the Catholic petition in other hands; but Sir H. Parnell, to whom he proposed to transfer it, refused to be a party to so graceless an act of injustice. That cause, in point of fact, was the main business and brightest glory of his latter career: regular in his attendance at the House, and never speaking without effect, he poured upon the wrongs of the Catholics, and the justice of redressing them, a dazzling lustre that surpassed his advocacy of every other question. For that he seemed to live, and in a manner died. He had reached his seventieth year, and his declining health had almost incapacitated him from exertion, when he left Dublin for the last time, taking charge of the petition of the Irish Catholics. He was so weak as to be obliged to proceed to London by canal; but the journey was no sooner accomplished than nature gave way, and the purest and most consistent patriot Ireland ever produced drew his last breath. It was at first determined to convey his remains back to Ireland, and deposit them amongst the people whom he had so nobly served; but the most distinguished members of the legislature prevailed upon his family to permit his interment in Westminster Abbey: this request was conveyed to his sons in a letter,—written by Campbell, the author of the “Pleasures of Memory,”—and signed by the most distinguished Members of both Houses of Parliament. “Filled with admiration,” wrote that elegant poet, “for the character of your father, we venture to express a wish, common to us with many of those who most admired and loved him, that what remains of him should be allowed to continue amongst us. It has pleased Divine Providence to deprive the empire of his services, while he was here in the neighbourhood of that sacred edifice where great men from all parts of the British dominions have been for ages interred. We are desirous of the opportunity of joining in the due honour to tried virtue and genius. Mr. Grattan belongs to us also, and great would

be our consolation were we permitted to follow him to the grave, and to place him where he would not have been unwilling to lie, by the side of his illustrious fellow-labourers in the cause of freedom." He was accordingly buried in the south cross-aisle, where a plain stone, inscribed "HENRY GRATTAN, JUNE 14, 1820," marks the site of his grave.

George IV. was now King, and proposed to visit Ireland. All parties concurred in a desire to give him a hearty reception; and never did men play a passing fancy with a wilder passion than the Irish now displayed to the top of its bent. The Protestants needed no incentives to testify their gratitude for the past, and their confidence in the present order of things—it made Ireland theirs. The Catholics took it for granted that the King was too honest to come amongst them, unprepared to do them justice. Their bill had this year been once more passed by the Commons, and, though lost in the Lords, showed an increase of strength in the division. Thus regarding the King's progress as a demonstration in their favour, they resolved to prove, by the warmth with which they hailed his presence, how general was their loyalty and how confident was the strength of their attachment to his person. O'Connell was the fogleman of this excess. He roused his great party to a man, and linked himself with the Orangemen to attest the perfect unanimity of Irish loyalty. The entrance of George IV. into Dublin was a magnificent exhibition; no such public display had ever been witnessed in Ireland. All the elements of national power, crowned by the pomp of royalty, were blended together on this occasion in dazzling array. Nor was the King's departure a scene less imposing. Before he set sail for England, O'Connell approached, at the head of a numerous train, and presented him with a crown of laurel. Nor did the public satisfaction rest there. O'Connell proposed the foundation of a Georgian Club, in perpetual honour of the event; and he joined with others in a subscription to build a palace, worthy of such a sovereign, in Dublin. To this fund he promised to contribute twenty guineas a year. £10,000 were raised for the purpose, and with that sum, too



contemptible for a palace, but sufficient for a useful purpose, the present King's Bridge over the Liffey was built.

The Irish expected much in return for their loyal ovation, and got nothing. "He gave us his advice," said Sheil, sarcastically "and nothing else." A formal letter was written by Lord Sidmouth, Secretary of State, recommending conciliation, but neither promising concession nor indicating reform. A short interval of reflection sufficed to place the whole proceeding in its true light—a splendid mockery. The reaction that ensued was proportioned to the excitement that had been raised. Disappointment, irritation, and resentment raged among the Roman Catholics: they felt themselves befooled and degraded, and vented many a bitter reproach upon O'Connell as their leader in the affair. The current of feeling ran so strong, that O'Connell found it necessary to defend himself in a public address, from which it is but fair to make an extract.

"George the Fourth came with the most ample prospects of national benefit. He came, he assured us, as the father of *all* his people—to reconcile *all* his people to each other—to establish the liberty and prosperity of all the Irish. Nor did he by actions, whilst in Ireland, belie his declarations. For the first time for two centuries, were the Catholics received by the Executive on terms of perfect equality with the Protestants. The Catholic prelates were received by the King, in their ecclesiastical costume, with their golden crosses and chains. It was the first official recognition of their spiritual dignity as prelates. To the Earl of Fingall, as head of the Catholics, the ribbon of the order of St. Patrick was given at an installation at which the King himself presided. The rest of the Catholic laity were received and cherished precisely as the Protestants were, and to crown all, the celebrated Sidmouth letter was issued, full of present kindness and gratitude to the Catholics, and of future hope and expectation of perfect conciliation—a conciliation which every body knew could never be effected, without a legal and perfect equalization of political rights."

This state of things was too serious to be trifled with, and accordingly a thorough change of the Irish administration was deemed expedient. The Marquis of Wellesley, a leading and eloquent advocate of Catholic emancipation, took the Lord Lieutenancy; and, more important still, Mr. Saurin,

ever formidable for the sternness of his resistance to concession, and the rigour with which he enforced the laws, was no longer Attorney-General. Mr. Plunkett succeeded to that office ; but, as if to qualify the liberal tendency of these appointments, Mr. Goulburn, a “strong Protestant,” was made Chief Secretary.

In 1822, the Marquis of Lansdowne moved a resolution in the Lords upon the state of Ireland, which was resisted as an implied censure upon the Government. In the Commons, the Catholic question was, for the first time, mooted by a member of the Irish Government. Mr. Plunkett, who had succeeded Mr. Grattan in taking charge of the petition, carried his bill through the Commons ; but it was again lost in the Lords. The particulars of this proceeding are noticeable beyond those of other years, in consequence of a plan of securities now proposed by O’Connell himself. Finding Mr. Plunkett, though in office, not prevented from presenting the Catholic petition as usual ; but finding him also still immovable upon the principle of coupling securities with concession, the Agitator deemed it prudent to consult the bent of circumstances, and was thus prompted to form a plan of his own for that purpose. By this the Government was allowed power to object to the election of bishops, on the ground of disloyalty. The question once raised was to be tried by two Catholic bishops, who were to hear evidence on both sides. If they found the objection valid, the bishop elect was to be put aside, and another chosen in his stead ; on the other hand, if they over-ruled the objection, consecration was to take place. So far for the bishops : with regard to the priests, O’Connell proposed to restrain them from writing to, or receiving letters from Rome upon politics, without submitting them to the Government. To this length was their leader prepared to bind the Roman Catholic hierarchy : his plan was rejected by Mr. Plunkett, and he never tried his hand on another.

The year 1823 was full of incidents, all tending more or less to mark the irresistible progress of the Catholic cause. Mr. Canning tried a new tack, bringing in a bill to admit

Roman Catholic Peers to take their seats in the Upper House. It passed the Commons; but in the Lords still lay the *fulcrum* of resistance, and there it was thrown out. The Marquis of Wellesley, anxious to put a stop to unbecoming displays of party virulence, issued an order forbidding the repetition of the annual practice of dressing the statue of King William in Dublin with Orange emblems. To avenge themselves of this mark of censure and failing power, the party mustered in great force when next the Lord Lieutenant visited the theatre, and there met him with an unprecedented outbreak of invective and violence. Some miscreants in the gallery went so far as to hurl a bottle at the Marquis's head. They were no sooner indicted than the grand jury threw out the bills. For this, Mr. Plunkett, whose official life was unhappily characterized by a disposition to strain the law to severe limits, afforded some pretext, when he strove to make the offence treason. Repulsed by the grand jury, he filed an *ex officio* information; but the prosecution broke down. The Irish, who never lose an opportunity for a joke, called the "bottle assault" a "bottle of smoke."

An accidental circumstance produced considerable excitement about this period. A letter was picked up near the Four Courts, Dublin, addressed to Lord Norbury, by the late Attorney-General Saurin. In this communication the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas was advised, when he went circuit, to endeavour to prevail upon such of the grand jurors as might visit his chamber to agitate against the Catholic question. Judge Jebb was mentioned as a man of the right sort, and who, by implication, might be depended upon as sure to play the same part. A letter so worded, and betraying such objects, could not fail to raise extraordinary excitement. Men stood amazed at the revelations it disclosed; and were pained to see, not only that Protestants of the highest class were entering into secret combinations, but that the bench of justice was deeply tainted with the venom of their infection.

The last event of this year to record, is the foundation of



the new Catholic Association. This was by far the best devised and most effective organization in which the Catholics had as yet engaged. The power of their priesthood was now brought to bear upon the general movement, which advanced with a momentum sensibly increased. Weekly meetings were held, and numerous grievances were exposed and denounced. The collection of the Catholic rent followed; sums of £600 and £900 were paid in during a week; bigots raised an outcry of fear and horror against this popish Parliament, with its priestly exchequer; and the agitation was deemed too real a danger to be quietly tolerated. O'Connell was arrested for a libel, which began with an "if," and was contained in a sentence. "If," he said, "Ireland were driven mad by oppression, she would find, like South America, another Bolivar." For this hypothesis he was prosecuted by the Attorney-General; but the grand jury threw out the bill; and Mr. Plunkett sustained another official defeat. Thus the leader escaped, but his association fell. An Act of Parliament was easily passed for its suppression; and the members anticipated their fate by dissolving themselves.

Conspicuous amongst the heads of the Catholic association, and only second in effectiveness to O'Connell himself, there had appeared of late at every meeting a man deserving of the highest praise—Richard Lalor Sheil, the son of a Cadiz merchant, who, when the law denied him a field for enterprise and the rewards of industry well applied in his own country, acquired a fortune in Spain. Returning with his wealth to Ireland, Mr. Sheil purchased an estate, and erected the mansion of Bellevue, beautifully situated over the tidal waters of the Suir, a little below the City of Waterford. There he was tempted to woo the fickle goddess a second time, and he lost his all in the venture. His son had thus to begin his career with that best of all incentives to the development of talent—total dependance upon itself. But he had some advantages of peculiar value. He had been well reared from his infancy. The tone and example of polished society had always been before his eyes. These were aids to progress and ad-

vancement which many of the oldest Catholic families in Ireland were then deprived of. But in his, on the mother's as well as the father's side, a constant intercourse had been maintained with France and Spain; and thus the manners and expansion of mind had been acquired, which communication with foreign countries invariably produces in the course of civilization. He had been, moreover, educated by the Jesuits, of whom it has been well remarked that their pupils are rarely men of vulgar minds. From Stonyhurst, where he was one of the most distinguished of his class, he passed with honour through the University of Dublin, and was in due course called to the Bar.

Sheil is said to have been little more than eighteen years of age when he made his first speech at a Catholic meeting. His style has been much improved since that time; but it has never varied. It caught the public ear quickly, and ere long took so firm a hold of it as to raise him by degrees to the first class of English orators. Amongst them Sheil will, in all probability, hold a higher place in years to come than O'Connell. The Irish were well pleased to see a pupil preparing himself for success in the school of speaking founded by Grattan and adopted by Curran. Terse, epigrammatic, and delighting in antithesis and point; studiously polished and artistic, it is his constant labour to elicit brilliancy and effect, by pushing the meaning of words to its utmost extent, and wringing from them a force beyond the range of ordinary expression. His earlier speeches display all the faults of his masters in an exaggerated form: his later ones give examples of their best qualities. He has never reached the higher moods of Grattan; but he has equalled Curran, whom he excels on the whole in purity of style. He has one superior advantage; he fascinates his hearers by the earnestness with which he appeals to them. When he speaks, he is excitement personified; his whole soul is in his subject; and he carries away his hearers with him like some accomplished actor on the stage, who moves the highest passions in a thunder of applause. He was never fully appreciated, until

he entered the House of Commons. There it was soon perceived that sparkling words and polished sentiments were not his only merits ; but that his speeches are well-digested essays, complete in the arrangement of the requisite parts, and triumphant in the elaboration of the argument proposed. If O'Connell was the captain, Sheil was the lieutenant of the cause ; and never did subaltern render higher or more effective service to his commander and his country.

The year 1825 was full of action and cheerful promise. Committees sat in both Houses upon the state of Ireland. O'Connell and Sheil, with a troop of peers, prelates, and commoners, attended in London, and were subjected to long examinations, the effect of which was said to be magical : prejudices, deemed inveterate, were thought to have melted away ; further opposition to justice ceased to be apprehended ; even securities were no longer talked of ; forty shilling freeholds were to be disfranchised ; the Catholic clergy were to be paid by the State ; and, as a finishing stroke to the accomplishment of the object so long desired and fiercely prosecuted, it was proposed that O'Connell himself should prepare the Act of Parliament that was to consummate the labours of the session.

Three bills were introduced into the House of Commons ; one for emancipation, one for the disfranchisement of the forty shilling freeholders, and one for the payment of the Roman Catholic clergy by the State. All three were steadily advanced in the House of Commons ; but the Lords were not to be moved. The Duke of York came forward, unrelenting as ever, and delivered himself of his celebrated " So help me God " speech. It was printed in letters of gold, and distributed widely through the country as a lasting memorial of his own bigotry, and the bigotry of the faction arrayed under his banner. " I have been," he said, " for five and twenty years, ever since the question has been agitated, advocating the cause of Protestant ascendancy. I have been brought up from my earliest years in these principles ; and from the time when I



began to reason for myself, I have entertained them from conviction ; and in every situation I may be placed in, during my future life, I will maintain them—So help me God.”

With this spur to the old prejudices, and the most violent speech ever made by Lord Liverpool against the question, the Lords threw out the Relief Bill, by a majority of forty-eight: the wings, as they were called, then fell to the ground. But O’Connell and Sheil, though repulsed, were not defeated. They returned to Ireland, braced themselves anew for the conflict, and formed another association professedly confined to matters not connected with politics. That body held meetings as of old, at the Corn Exchange ; while political objects were provided for by a succession of other meetings, convened at intervals of fourteen days, to petition Parliament. Even the rent was collected, not as a payment to the Association, but to O’Connell personally. Thus, to repeat one of the Agitator’s favourite expressions, a coach and six was driven through the Act of Parliament. More stirring events were still in store. There was a general election in 1826, and it proved the means of striking the heaviest blow against the ministry by which their party in Ireland had as yet been weakened.

At a short distance from the town of Dungarvan stands Dromana, a goodly mansion, admirably situated upon the banks of the river Blackwater, perhaps the most picturesque of Irish rivers. Its owner, in the year 1826, was Henry Villiers Stuart,\* a gentleman who had just come of age, succeeding to an estate, considerable in point of extent and rental. This property had been part of the old Palatinate of the Fitzgeralds of Desmond, that Norman English race often mentioned in former parts of this work, as having been so strongly Irish, as to have been loved, cherished, and regarded with feelings of deep and intense affection, never surpassed by those with which the descendants of the native chieftains themselves had been caressed and venerated. Mr. Stuart had all the

\* He has since been raised to the peerage, as Lord Stuart de Decies.

qualities which could render such a descent and property highly popular. Liberal, and truly patriotic in his feelings, refined in his tastes, carrying the sense of honour to an extreme which made him almost fastidiously sensitive on every subject falling within its range; he was generous, without ostentation, a clear and unaffected public speaker; and had cultivated, with success, that courteous propriety of manner which flatters without fawning, and is the sure index of a true gentleman.

Some twenty miles north-east of Dromana, and not far removed from the "gentle Suir"—celebrated in the verse of Spenser—is Curraghmore, the seat of the Beresfords, Earls of Tyrone and Marquises of Waterford. The house, though a good one, is not equal to the domain, which is of princely extent, including nearly 4000 acres of champaign, mountain, forest, and water. Broad tracts of land, a portion of the estate, and estimated to produce a rental of £30,000 a-year, spread from Curraghmore almost to the boundaries of Dromana, and have long made the family one of the richest, and in some respects one of the most influential in Ireland. The first Beresford who became an Irish settler, appears to have been Tristram Beresford, a manager, according to Lodge and Archdale, for the corporation of Londoners, known as the new plantation of Ulster. The grandson of this immigrant was made a Baronet by Charles II., March 24, 1664. Sir Marcus Beresford, the fourth baronet, having married in 1717, the Lady Catherine Poer, daughter and heiress of James, Baron Poer and Earl of Tyrone, was himself created Earl of Tyrone by George I., November 4, 1720. The title of Marquis of Waterford was a Union reward. This family had never had a distinguished member; but it has not been wanting in cadets of second-rate ability—forward, hardy, knowing fellows, who hunt out good places with the keenness of sportsmen, and are matchless as party hacks, scouts, whippers-in, managers, touters, and men of all work. There has always been a Beresford, and sometimes two, upon the Irish bench of bishops; and upon the whole there were few families in

Ireland, whose presence up to this period had been more strongly felt in the politics of the country than theirs had been. The county of Waterford, which, so far at least as one seat went, had been to them for many years as safe as if it had been a close borough, was then represented by Lord George Beresford, long an officer of the household of George IV. When the news spread that a man of fortune, their superior in ancient lineage, a liberal in politics, and an earnest friend to Catholic emancipation, proposed to contest the county with the Beresfords, the excitement was general and deep. O'Connell was retained as Mr. Stuart's counsel, with a fee of 600 guineas; and now for the first time was the power of the Roman Catholics as forty shilling freeholders really developed. The priests came forward and invoked them to reject the claims of their landlords, and vote for their religion; the spell worked—worked wonders. Flinging away the fear of ejection, and the temptation of reward, the peasants wildly rushed to the poll, and won by a decided majority. The Marquis of Waterford died soon afterwards—it was said of mortified pride. No lesson half so practical had ever been taught before in Irish politics; but far as its efficacy surpassed all former advantages, it was itself destined to be improved.

Unexpected events, each of them charged with consequences of the highest moment, succeeded in rapid succession, imparting the interests of a romance to the progress of agitation. Before the year had ended, the Duke of York, who had so recently anticipated in pointed terms the death of his brother, and his own succession to the Crown, was himself consigned to the tomb. Scarcely had the new Parliament responded to an active canvass, and rejected the Catholic bill by a majority of four, when paralysis struck Lord Liverpool; and the Irish difficulty was found lying in the way as of old, a stumblingblock to the formation of a new ministry. At length Canning was declared Premier; and forthwith, because he was pledged to emancipation, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Eldon, Sir Robert Peel, and others, threw up their places. Canning stood like a lion at bay, and was worried to



death in five months. The Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel yielded in a year the very measure which it was death to Canning to intend !

Events of irresistible influence precipitated this unexpected conclusion. The Canning administration, of five months' duration, was followed by one shorter still: the Goderich motleys clung together for only four months. Then came the Duke of Wellington as Premier, with Sir R. Peel as leader of the Commons, and again in four months another disruption of the Cabinet took place. East Retford had been disfranchised, and the ministry could not agree upon the best manner of filling up the void thus created in the appointed number of the House of the Commons. This dissension led to the retirement of the Canning section, represented by Mr. Huskisson, Lord Dudley, Lord Palmerston, Mr. C. Grant, and Mr. Lamb, afterwards Lord Melbourne. They were succeeded by Sir George Murray, the Earl of Aberdeen, Sir H. Hardinge, Lord F. Egerton, and Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, who was thus obliged to vacate his seat for the county of Clare. He presented himself for re-election. His claims to the support of the Roman Catholics were strong: he was influential and eloquent, and he had uniformly advocated their cause. But these recommendations now proved unavailing. A happy discovery enabled the Catholic party to take a step for which no one was prepared. It was found that the Act which forbade Roman Catholics to sit in Parliament did not forbid them to be elected members; and it was quickly resolved to put O'Connell forward as a candidate for Clare. Even as the last straw of the load breaks the camel's back, the absence of a word sufficed to carry emancipation.

There is no room here for an account of the minor incidents of this moving transaction. Sheil's suggestion of a national census to prove the comparative numbers of Protestants and Roman Catholics; the simultaneous meetings that took place in 1500 chapels on one Sunday, to petition both Houses; the 30,000 people, men, women and children, who bivouacked in the streets of Ennis, while the Clare election lasted; the vows

they took and kept, to abstain from whiskey: the absence of a single case of intoxication or insubordination amongst them during that interval; the large military force drawn together, with four pieces of artillery, to keep the peace, and left to stand untroubled by their grounded arms; the stirring scene, when after a six days' contest Mr. Fitzgerald resigned, and O'Connell was declared duly elected; the spirit infused into the general movement by the frank and encouraging behaviour of the Marquis of Anglesey, the new Lord Lieutenant; the check given to hope and confidence by his sudden recal; the celebrated Leinster declaration, signed by 2 dukes, 7 marquises, 27 earls, 11 viscounts, 22 barons, 2 counts, 22 baronets, 52 members of Parliament, and above 2000 gentlemen of other ranks—the whole personally interested in the state of Ireland;—all this and far more that now occurred, must in these outlines pass without description or further record. The one great fact of that period supersedes all other considerations. It had now been practically demonstrated that it was in the power of every Irish constituency, in which Roman Catholic electors preponderated, to make sport of the constitution of the House of Commons—to return *mute* members.

For nine and twenty years the English Government had been playing a game of fast and loose with the Irish Catholics, and they were now checkmated. The Irish difficulty had waxed wondrous strong, and there was but one way of escaping from its immediate pressure. Parliament met February 5, 1829, and the King's speech recommended the suppression of the Catholic Association, and then that the whole condition of Ireland, and the laws which imposed civil disabilities upon Roman Catholics, should be taken into consideration.

High as was the point at which the public excitement stood, when emancipation was thus proposed, in due form, from the throne, it rose higher still when Sir R. Peel's bill appeared. There had been so many drags upon the proposed issue in the apprehension of imaginary dangers to be covered by ideal securities, that there were many who hoped, and many who

feared, that the measure would be so clogged with restrictions, and qualified by drawbacks, as to prove, after all, a poor and spiritless concession. But it was no sooner produced than all parties stood amazed: it was so simple, so unencumbered, so complete—a masterpiece of efficient legislation. The Catholics were excluded from the office of Lord Chancellor, and a bar was put upon the increase of monks and Jesuits. These were the restrictions!

So far the bill received, and was entitled to lavish praise. But there were attending circumstances,\* which in some respects detracted from its eminent merits. It was so worded as to prevent O'Connell's taking his seat for Clare. This was an instance of paltry revenge, utterly unworthy of the greatness of the occasion. As a national measure the Act was almost sublime to contemplate; but when its provisions were drawn down to a miserable personality it came to look almost insignificant. There were other grounds upon which dignity was lost. The speech, in which Sir R. Peel explained the bill, was one of the most able and effective ever delivered in the House of Commons: it was full of matter and full of power—excellently expressed, and imposingly delivered; but throughout the whole he represented himself as a man constrained to take the course he was pursuing—as one driven by necessity and not impelled by conviction. The sense of stand-

\* The King's conduct throughout the whole of this affair was bad in the extreme. It was not only contemptible, but disgusting. He authorised the proceeding twice over, and then tried to shuffle it off. He told the ministers to go on, and then complained that they forced him against his will. He even gave his consent in writing, and denied that he was a consenting party. He appealed from his ministers to the opposite faction, but even Lord Eldon was obliged to declare against him. "I told his Majesty," records the ex-Chancellor, (Twiss's Life, vol. iii.), "it was impossible to maintain that his consent had not been expressed." One of these scenes took place the day before the bill was brought in. The Duke of Wellington, Sir R. Peel, and Lord Lyndhurst were at Windsor; the King complained, blustered, and contradicted himself and his ministers positively. Thereupon they resigned, and he accepted their resignations. But before he went to bed he repented of his rashness, and sent them word to proceed. At last, when the bill had really passed, he consoled himself spitefully: "*I'll make no Roman Catholic Peers,*" he said, "*I'll not do what this bill will enable me to do!*"—(Twiss's Life.)



ard right, justice, principle, never once appear to move him or to animate the part he is taking. It is correct according to circumstances, but made up for the occasion ; and the effect is cold and depressing. The pith of his argument is this,—so much wrong has already been done, it is impossible to do more ;—and yet the wrong is not frankly confessed, nor does the generosity of atonement grace the concession. The speech was matchless in point of skill, but it wanted warmth, freedom, and the inspiration of victory. The times had changed, and so had the politician : we admit his argument, but are not carried away by his cause.\*

O'Connell was fifty-four years old when he became a member of the House of Commons. An age so advanced operated strongly against his success in this new career ; more important still, it operated strongly against the attainment of the good which his country needed, and it was within his reach to attain. For that purpose, new habits, a new standard of thought, a new goal, a new course of action, another inward man was demanded ; the transmutation perhaps was more than human nature could bear—at any rate it was not produced, and thence the huge confusion that ensued. His first steps were rashly taken. For an interval the minister made no use of the Catholic Relief Act. At length silk gowns were given to six Roman Catholic members of the Irish Bar, but O'Connell was not of the number. Insult more than injustice was predominant in that procedure, and O'Connell, irritated at the treatment he experienced, threw himself into the arms of the Radical Reformers in England, and took the chair at a public

\* Sir R. Peel had changed his opinions before, and with that frankness which becomes conviction and enforces respect. When in 1819 he brought forward his bill for the resumption of cash payments, he spoke in these manly terms. "I am ready," he said, "to avow without either shame or remorse that I went into this inquiry with a very different opinion from that which I at present entertain : for my views of the subject were most materially different when I voted against the resolutions brought forward in 1811, by Mr. Horner, as the Chairman of the Bullion Committee. Having gone into this inquiry, I determined to dismiss all former impressions that I might have received, and to obliterate from my memory the vote which I had given some years since, when the same subject was discussed."

meeting for Hunt and Carlisle, men whom it was political contagion to approach.

In the House itself, he fared much better: he entered upon its business with a degree of readiness, ability, and effect, which attested in the most convincing manner, the wide range of his power and information, as well as his varied talents for public speaking. He mastered with ease all the forms of proceeding, and proved equal to every subject. Some patient inquirer, curious in the exhibition of details, took the trouble to count the number of times O'Connell spoke in one session, and found, that, with one exception, that of Lord Althorp, the Agitator spoke oftener than any other member. Lord Althorp was then leader, and in that capacity was oftener required to address the House than any other member: O'Connell in speaking as he did, only gave vent to his natural activity and the exuberance of his attainments. But he never tired; and, except upon certain occasions when he lost his temper and descended to personalities, he never offended. The first impressions he created were favourable; but he was not understood, nor was his position with the bulk of the Irish people understood. He had led that body—he led them still; he was flattered, extolled, idolized by them. Full well and surely did he know that—nevertheless whenever he adverted to the matter in the House, he was laughed at. To an Englishman, who felt that such a thing could not happen in his own country, it seemed to be preposterous, if not incredible; yet was it not the less real; and worse still, its reality was not to be got rid of by derision.

Living as we are under the direct influence of the Act of 1829, still impelled by its motion, and sensible that its full consequences are as yet undeveloped, it is impossible to obtain a clear or perfect view of events, or to penetrate the true motives by which our public men have been actuated of late in promoting or resisting their progress. We review the passing time animated by the heat of its motion, and are roused to praise or blame, like the spectator at the theatre, who is imperfectly acquainted with the tricks of the scenery, and the

arts of the performers. Catholic émanicipation which was only the *beginning* of a revolution, was treated as if it had been the consummation of one. We are, perhaps, safe in laying that down as the first mistake. The Irish system of government set up at the time of the Reformation ; carried to the height of "vicious perfection," in the reign of Queen Anne ; held at that culminating point till the year 1778, when it began to be slightly relaxed ; was now abandoned as no longer tenable. Obviously, the frame-work of the State ought to have been accommodated at once to that change. Yet no one seemed to feel that additional duties of weight and responsibility were imposed. An opinion appears to have prevailed that emancipation was an automaton, and would do its own work. The new field of action had been provided, but not the new action. Men to act abounded, but they were not let in. When George IV. said, "I will not do what this Act enables me to do," he uttered, it is to be feared, an opinion which was afterwards more fully adopted than he could have ventured to anticipate.

The emancipation of the Catholics brought the long reign of the Tories to a period. The extremes of that party, voting with the Whigs, to be revenged upon their old leaders, upset the cabinet, and opened the administration of affairs to Earl Grey and the reformers. It is easy enough to look back at a period so recent, and point out how naturally Lord Grey's party, and the Catholic party, might then have coalesced, and by a happy junction have established upon constitutional principles and rules of conduct such an alliance between the leading men of the two countries as would have cemented the Union. In that condition of things we should have seen O'Connell advanced to his proper eminence, and applying either in the Government, or in accord with it, those talents and that knowledge of his country in which no man ever excelled him. But though Lord Grey came into power upon reform principles he was full of aristocratic pride. He and his colleagues "lived and had their being" in the full flush of the prejudices peculiar to



their order. They disdained alliance or copartnership with the Irish Agitator and his democratic papists, and hence the rude continuance of the Irish difficulty.

Assuming, apparently as matter not to be disputed, that there remained no longer any grounds for complaint or agitation in Ireland, the Government resolved to enforce quiet with a strong hand. This was a fatal policy. The Duke of Northumberland had put down by proclamation the association called the "Friends of Ireland." The Marquis of Anglesey succeeded the Duke of Northumberland in 1830, and in one month issued four proclamations against public meetings, and Repeal breakfasts. O'Connell was indicted, and agitation gagged for the moment. Every expedient and pretext for public speaking had been produced and defeated. The period was one in which talents abounded, and no common sense was to be met with.

Emancipation was to have tranquillized Ireland—vain hope, blind imagination, embraced by Lord Grey in all the infatuation with which delusions are invariably adopted! He had scarcely been seated in the ministry than agrarian disturbances broke out in the south of Ireland on a scale as extensive, and with a violence as great as had ever been known. The Premier stood confounded in his cabinet, helpless to restrain daring excess, or compose disorder. He had not identified his Government with the people or their leaders, and there was no hold or check upon their movements. The session being about to break up, there was no time to resort to legislative terrors: but a special commission was issued; the juries summoned did their duty; and the offenders were transported in troops. One after another as the wretched batches left the dock they were hurried out into carriages, kept waiting at the prison gates, and driven off to the convict ship amidst the shrieks of their astonished families. Meantime the old faction was not idle: rumours of conspiracies were spread about, insurrections were threatened, and every story was fabricated and put into circulation that could excite fear and disturb confidence. The first reformed parliament met,

and amongst the first measures submitted to its consideration was an Irish Coercion Bill. Lord Grey explained its provisions and Lord Brougham vindicated its severity in a strain of arbitrary invective worthy of the style of Judge Jefferies. O'Connell's die was now cast—an agitator he had been, and an agitator he was doomed to continue. The pecuniary tribute subscribed, as a testimonial for his services in carrying Emancipation, was made an annual collection; henceforward he was the retained advocate of those who raised that money—they were chiefly the priests, the shopkeepers, and small farmers—the classes immediately above the lowest. Ireland, and England also, was deeply affected by the result for many years afterwards.

This Act passed the Lords' quickly, but was fiercely contested in the Commons'. In the latter House the first reading was only carried after a series of stormy debates, protracted by five adjournments, with no corresponding effect—there appearing at last, 466 for and 86 against the measure. On the second reading there were two adjournments—the numbers being, 363 to 81. The longest and toughest battle was in the Committee. There were six nights of debate, and divisions too numerous to count; but all in the same direction—all giving the Minister a vast majority. On the third reading the votes stood 345 for, and 86 against the law; which, though softened in some of its provisions, was a production that ill became the character of liberal politicians, or wise and humane legislators. It afforded a sad proof that ill temper and the spirit of violence were not all on one side of the Irish Channel. The Act consisted of 41 clauses, and it empowered the Lord Lieutenant to prohibit any meeting which he might deem dangerous or inconsistent with the due administration of the law; also to declare, by proclamation, districts to be in a state of disturbance. When such a proclamation issued, the inhabitants were required to remain in their houses between sunset and sunrise: martial law was put in force; and the ordinary tribunals of justice were superseded. Magistrates and police were authorized to make domiciliary visits, and all

persons arrested were deprived of the right of bail and the writ of habeas corpus. Such was the first law of the reformed Parliament for Ireland, and it was no sooner passed than it was put in force. The royal assent was given on April 2, and on the sixth the city and county of Cork were proclaimed: on the tenth, the Association of the day, called the Irish Volunteers, was prohibited.

From the ferment of indignation, provoked in the Irish party by these severe proceedings, sprung the determination to bring the Repeal of the Union in a substantive form before the House of Commons. A step taken in anger may show courage, but seldom good sense—and such was now the case. On Tuesday, April 22, 1834, Mr. O'Connell moved for the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into the subject. The debate lasted for six nights, and the division gave 523 against, and 38 for the motion. The chief speakers in the minority were O'Connell and Sheil; in the majority, Mr. S. Rice, Sir R. Peel, and Mr. Emerson Tennant—the best speech of all in point of intellectual range, aim, and effect, being the one spoken by Mr. Tennant. The Repealers failed totally in their case—evading, in point of fact, the main things to be proved, and relying upon those which were incontestable, but made nothing for them when established. While they dwelt upon the cruel and corrupt means by which the Union had been carried, and on the absence of all authority in the Irish Parliament—which had not been elected for that or any such purpose—to vote away the existing constitution of the country; their eloquence was forcible and convincing. But the thing was done, and evidence of impropriety in the manner of doing it furnished no sufficient argument for the undoing of it. The thing itself might have been substantially and effectively good, notwithstanding that impropriety. When, however, an attempt was made to show that Ireland had been commercially prosperous before the Union, and not so afterwards—that her condition had been one of progression in the former, and of retrogression in the latter case; the answer was triumphant. Mr. S. Rice overwhelmed his antagonists



with an irresistible array of statistics. The only great point then remaining was avoided by the advocates for change. They affected to talk of the independence of the Irish Parliament after the year 1782—as if such a thing was credible—as if it was possible that there could be two independent parliaments under the same crown. The nearest approach to an argument on this part of the case lay in the suggestion of a federal union after the plan of the United States of America; but that involved a new constitution altogether, and not a return to the Irish constitution of 1782. Canning's exclamation, Repeal the Union—restore the Heptarchy! was not forgotten on this occasion; and its aptness furnished a new illustration—to dissolve the Union between England and Ireland was pronounced as rational as to sever the joint action of the right hand and the left.

This was the light part of the Irish difficulty—easily met and easily overcome—perhaps too much so. There remained, however, ponderous matter behind. In the month of June following there was a disruption of the Cabinet; and, as usual, Ireland was the cause. The Earl of Ripon, the Duke of Richmond, Mr. Stanley, and Sir J. Graham, differing with their colleagues upon the measures to be proposed with respect to the Irish Church, retired from office. Their places were soon filled up. But ere two months more had passed, the Irish difficulty drove Earl Grey himself into private life, and put an end to his long and stately career. The ominous Coercion Act was about to expire, and he desired to renew it, omitting the Court Martial clauses. But his colleagues did not relish the idea of continuing to rule Ireland with a high hand.\* The Earl, too proud to bend or yield, resigned.

\* The Marquis Wellesley, then Lord Lieutenant, was sharply spoken of in this affair. The whole matter in dispute turned upon the clauses, authorizing the suppression of public meetings. Against these O'Connell battled fiercely; and in respect of them, it was asserted that his Excellency had been most inconsistent, having demanded them as indispensable in the month of April, having offered to dispense with them in the month of June, and having re-demanded them in the month of July.

Lord Althorp, who was held to have most differed with him upon this subject, also resigned ; but was prevailed upon to retain his place. At his instance a modified Coercion Bill was passed. In all these proceedings we recognise high encouragement given to agitation ; no mean triumph to O'Connell, and but little help or sustainment to the cause of progress, improvement, and peace in Ireland. The scene was certainly a striking one, which represented such a statesman as Earl Grey retiring from the political stage, because no longer able to compete with the burly head of the Irish difficulty.

The war of the peasants against tithes was now raging : it is a history in itself, teaching terrible lessons. Throughout the south and west of Ireland the obnoxious impost ceased to be collectable. In vain did the parson levy, and the proctor seize. Whenever cattle or produce taken for tithes were put up to auction, thousands of men assembled, and frightened away purchasers. Desperate conflicts took place in the attempts made to carry the law into execution. At Newtown Barry, Carrickshock, Moncoin, Wallstown, Carrigeen, and Dunmamway, the people and the police came into collision ; blood was desperately spilled, and many lives were sacrificed. But years were allowed to pass before the case was seen in its true light, and the proper remedy applied.

The "Lichfield Compact," as it was called, broke for an interval the force of the Repeal agitation. If on this occasion there really had been a compact between the Whigs and the Irish Liberals, the proceeding would have been natural and the conclusion might have been advantageous. There appears, however, to have been nothing more than a "rapprochement." The two parties, conscious of the false positions in which they stood, (and anxious, no doubt, to be placed on some better footing,) met at Lord Anson's house, and seem to have agreed, that, for the future, it behoved them to cooperate. No definite terms were entered into, no principles or questions were set up as standards to be abided by : all

was general, loose, and in the end discreditable. Nothing was surrendered and nothing secured, but an evanescent majority in the House of Commons. Then was seen an exhibition upon which no man can look back without a feeling of shame. On the one side was a Government, pledged against the Repeal of the Union, and yet distributing all its patronage to persons whose only claims to notice lay in their incessant agitation to carry that very question. On the other hand were the Irish members, elected by their constituents to carry Repeal, yet basely surrendering their promises and convictions, if indeed they had any, for the sake of a few contemptible places, and the empty honour of dining occasionally with a minister of state. Many have been the shifts of party, and strange the compromises of principle amongst political men; but never, perhaps, were two bodies seen to act with less regard to consistency and personal dignity than did the Whigs and O'Connellites at this conjuncture. Step by step they tottered and fell, until at last they reached the lowest level to which public opinion could sink them. The hollow insincerity and palpable corruption on both sides first excited disgust and then indignation. A sense of national insult was engendered: it was urged that England was used as a tool to gratify the venality of an Irish clique, while the true interests of the country were neglected. There was no progress, but the reverse: a few men were held at the head of affairs, after they had forfeited the power to be useful, and only demonstrated, day by day, that they could still further limit the application of their principles, and depart from the standard under which they had once rallied a nation to establish them in authority.

Lord Normanby's administration of Irish affairs furnished convenient means to quicken the expulsion of the Whigs. The Marquis of Anglesey and Mr. Stanley had been forced to beat a retreat. The Marquis—prompt, frank, and impulsive: Mr. Stanley—all spirit and action, the cleverest of debaters, sagacious to oppose and efficient to correct the faults of others; but rash and weak in his judgment, and without foresight.



After having driven O'Connell to extremes, these two men had the mortification to see the fortunate Agitator rebound in triumph from their grasp, pouring upon them, their government, their party, and their professions, torrents of reproach, abuse, and vituperation, such as never before had been discharged against any body of inculpated politicians. The virulence with which O'Connell pursued that administration; the coarseness with which he reviled; the reckless fury with which he assailed; and the amount of animal vigour he displayed, without abatement or loss of power, to the very last stage of the contest, were wonderful, without precedent, and quite successful. He literally beat the Lord Lieutenant and Chief Secretary out of Ireland, and the Premier out of the cabinet, with his tongue.

The Marquis Wellesley and Mr. Littleton next essayed the difficulty; but with no fortune. They came too late: their true period had been forestalled. Moderate, judicious, conciliatory, and sincere—they might have effected much, if the opportunity, forfeited by their predecessors, had been offered to them: but the case had become desperate before their talents were applied to it. The higher qualities of O'Connell's nature had been perverted in the mean time. He drew Mr. Littleton into a personal quarrel; and drove the Secretary from office, under circumstances already referred to, and which made no addition to his own character for honour or generosity. O'Connell was now a sort of political prize-fighter, ready to throw down his glove and try a fall with every opponent: and so constantly a victor, that he often entered the lists without discretion, and triumphed without credit. The Irish Government undoubtedly furnished him with many reasons to question their sincerity and to reproach them with indifference, if not aversion, to the progress of improvement. The policy of an administration is to be determined by its acts, and it required the blindness of a lover's credulity to hail the movement of regeneration in such proceedings as those which kept a Coercion Bill always in force, retained Mr. Blackburne as the best Attorney-General to give it due effect: made Mr.

Doherty Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; and, worst of all, promoted Mr. Joy, one of the most illiberal of men, to be Chief Baron of the Exchequer.

Next came the Normanby experiment, fatal to Whiggery. The Marquis was a nobleman well fitted for his task, and just the man to play the part of Irish Viceroy—stage fashion; and what, after all, is it but a theatrical performance? He looked the character well—cantering on his charger, and nodding gaily right and left; giving many routs and parties, and driving freely about the country: he popularized the Government when popularity was much needed; and quieted the temper of the people, by mingling amongst them, inquiring into their complaints, and forgiving many of their misdeeds. His liberality in this latter respect was severely censured, but without sufficient cause. Justice in Ireland had so rarely been tempered with mercy, that, in one instance at least, the exercise of the virtue might have been permitted without severe criticism. That is not the stroke of policy which can fairly be said to have brought Lord Normanby or his government into contempt. Their fall was precipitated by a stronger cause—the common depravity of Whigs and Repealers. O'Connell saw the coming wreck, and steered his bark accordingly. For some time past he had been flirting with Repeal; keeping the spirit of agitation alive, by presiding at various associations in which the question was raised, and entertained to a certain extent, but held over as a reserve to be pressed into action in the last extremity. The Precursor Association, as its name imported, was designed to serve as a touchstone or warning in this respect. If, after the proof proposed to be afforded by that demonstration, England should still fail to see the necessity of doing justice, then, indeed, repeal was to be insisted upon until it was carried.

This is the period to which are to be referred the Irish Reform Act and the Act for Regulating Municipal Corporations in Ireland. No particulars of those laws can be useful here. To this day they have been permitted to stand the unaltered monuments of Protestant resentment and English injus-

tice. By them, revenge was taken for the necessity which enforced emancipation; and the inferiority of Roman Catholic Ireland was prolonged. Whatever may be thought of the ebullitions of Irish discontent, there will remain sufficient provocation for that, and something more, while those laws are left without amendment. In the resistance offered to their progress; in their stunted enactments, when tardily passed; in the marked inequalities which they have preserved and continued between the rights, franchises, and liberties of the people of the two countries, are to be found the cause and justification of rational and determined hostility. It is not the subject-matter of these laws alone, but the manner of the legislature in making them, that was unfair and offensive. The English Reform Act passed in 1832; it was then admitted on all hands, that, if it had not been for the spirit and effect with which O'Connell and the Irish members adhered to the minister, the result must have been very different from that which it fortunately proved to be. The English Municipal Act passed in 1833, receiving the same measure of strong support and generous advocacy from the Irish party. Unworthy was the return made to them for this conduct. The Irish Reform Act was delayed to 1836, and the Irish Municipal Act to 1840: the first evaded, and the second nullified the national rights. In the Irish corporate towns, Belfast and Londonderry\* excepted, the inhabitants and rate-payers have neither power nor influence in the administration of their own affairs. Local or responsible self-government does not there exist. Boards and commissions, some of them self-elected, some nominated by Government, and all irresponsible, prey upon the inhabitants, and abuse their rights. The contrast exhibited by this state of things between England and Ireland

\* In these towns the Protestants bear civic sway, and have been allowed to place their local institutions upon the system which works so well in England and in Scotland. In Dublin the Roman Catholics preponderate, and the House of Commons for four years running have refused to allow a single measure for the improvement of that city, although, in every instance, the bills proposed by the Corporation were the counterparts of recent acts for English and Scotch boroughs. Lord Clarendon and Sir W. Somerville have taken leading parts in these proceedings.



is startling, and, to those who reason from facts, will reveal a copious fountain-head of Irish dissatisfaction.

The Whigs made an awkward attempt to back out of the Lichfield Compact, when no good was to be gained by retreating from it. In 1839, the Marquis of Normanby was replaced by Lord Fortescue. The new Lord Lieutenant was too honest a man to be a good politician. He stated publicly that no member of the Repeal Association should receive promotion from him. After this declaration had been made, some magistrates, who had attended Repeal meetings, were dismissed, others threw up their commissions, and the Repeal flame spread widely.

It was in the month of July, 1840, the power of the Whigs being in a rapid state of decline, that O'Connell instituted the last, the most formidable, and the least successful of his many political devices—the Repeal Association—or, as its full style went—the Loyal National Repeal Association of Ireland. Sir Robert Peel became Premier in September, 1841; and O'Connell failed not to strain all his energies to work once more, out of the Irish difficulty, the discomfiture of the English Government. He may, perhaps, be held to have succeeded; but the effort cost him his life, and involved the prostration of his cause.

Having been elected the first Lord Mayor of Dublin under the New Corporation Act, he served the office with credit and impartiality; saw a liberal Protestant installed as his successor; and then brought the municipal body to petition for a Repeal of the Union. Many of the other municipalities—Cork, Waterford, Limerick, Kilkenny, and Clonmel—followed the example thus set, and the movement proceeded by rapid strides. 700,000 persons were enrolled members of the association in the year 1843, and paid amongst them a sum of £48,000 towards its support. Frequent were the monster meetings that were held, and fast grew the multitudes that swelled them into objects of alarm. They began at Trim, in the month of March, 1843, where 20,000 were said to have assembled; and proceeded, until, by Sunday, October 1, there

had been 46 musterings, at the last of which, on the rath of Mullaghmast, 400,000 persons testified their adherence to the cause.\*

\* The following is the Repeal Return of the Monster Meetings in 1843.

Places of Meeting.	Date.	Numbers at	
		Meeting.	Banquet.
Trim . . . . .	Sunday, March 19th . . . . .	20,000	200
Cahirconlish . . . . .	Sunday, April 2nd . . . . .	30,000	—
Bellewstown . . . . .	Sunday, April 9th . . . . .	20,000	150
Clonsa . . . . .	Monday, April 17th . . . . .	50,000	—
Rathkeale . . . . .	Tuesday, April 18th . . . . .	20,000	250
Limerick . . . . .	Wednesday, April 19th . . . . .	110,000	800
Kells . . . . .	Sunday, April 23rd . . . . .	150,000	600
Slievrua . . . . .	Sunday, April 23rd . . . . .	10,000	—
Carrickmacross . . . . .	Tuesday, April 25th . . . . .	150,000	600
Croom . . . . .	Sunday, April 30th . . . . .	60,000	80
Sligo . . . . .	Thursday, May 4th . . . . .	170,000	150
The Curragh . . . . .	Sunday, May 7th . . . . .	70,000	400
Mullingar . . . . .	Sunday, May 14th . . . . .	150,000	358
Charleville . . . . .	Thursday, May 18th . . . . .	300,000	400
Cork . . . . .	Sunday, May 21st . . . . .	500,000	900
Caltra . . . . .	Sunday, May 21st . . . . .	50,000	—
Cashel . . . . .	Tuesday, May 23rd . . . . .	400,000	400
Ballinakill . . . . .	Thursday, May 25th . . . . .	50,000	—
Nenagh . . . . .	Thursday, May 25th . . . . .	400,000	400
Dunleer . . . . .	Sunday, May 28th . . . . .	20,000	—
Longford . . . . .	Sunday, May 28th . . . . .	260,000	300
Drogheda . . . . .	Monday, June 4th . . . . .	150,000	400
Kilkenny . . . . .	Thursday, June 8th . . . . .	300,000	500
Mallow . . . . .	Sunday, June 11th . . . . .	400,000	600
Murroe . . . . .	Tuesday, June 13th . . . . .	100,000	—
Clare . . . . .	Thursday, June 15th . . . . .	<del>700,000</del>	500
Athlone . . . . .	Sunday, June 18th . . . . .	150,000	600
Skibbereen . . . . .	Thursday, June 22nd . . . . .	450,000	450
Galway . . . . .	Sunday, June 25th . . . . .	200,000	600
Dundalk . . . . .	Thursday, June 29th . . . . .	300,000	730
Donnybrook . . . . .	Monday, July 3rd . . . . .	150,000	—
Waterford . . . . .	Sunday, July 9th . . . . .	300,000	450
Tullamore . . . . .	Sunday, July 16th . . . . .	150,000	500
Enniscorthy . . . . .	Thursday, July 20th . . . . .	500,000	1000
Tuam . . . . .	Sunday, July 23rd . . . . .	300,000	400
Mayo . . . . .	Monday, July 31st . . . . .	300,000	300
Ba'tinglass . . . . .	Sunday, August 6th . . . . .	150,000	500
Mountmellick . . . . .	Sunday, August 13th . . . . .	200,000	450
Inishowen . . . . .	Monday, August 7th . . . . .	50,000	150
Tara . . . . .	Tuesday, August 15th . . . . .	750,000	1000
Clontibret . . . . .	Tuesday, August 15th . . . . .	300,000	—
Roscommon . . . . .	Sunday, August 20th . . . . .	200,000	500
Loughrea . . . . .	Sunday, September 10th . . . . .	300,000	500
Clifden . . . . .	Sunday, September 17th . . . . .	100,000	300
Lismore . . . . .	Sunday, September 24th . . . . .	400,000	300
Mullaghmast . . . . .	Sunday, October 1st . . . . .	400,000	550

On this occasion O'Connell submitted to a ceremony which gave rise to various comments. The multitude had met, the platform was crowded, the speeches had been spoken, the resolutions carried with shouts of exultation, and the swelling Agitator "from that scene of English perfidy" had once more hurled defiance against English tyranny, when signs of a new movement became apparent, and three gentlemen were seen to approach and mount the platform. They proved to be Mr. O'Callaghan, an author; Mr. McManus, a painter, and Mr. Hogan, the sculptor. Advancing to O'Connell, these gentlemen begged leave to present him with an address, and a cap made upon the model of one of the ancient Irish crowns. O'Connell returned a suitable answer, suffered the cap to be put upon his head, vowed to wear it during life, to have it buried with him in his grave, and then descending to his carriage drove off like a crowned potentate in triumph!

This concluded the monster meetings. An attempt was made to hold another at Clontarf, but the Government issued a proclamation denouncing it as illegal, which O'Connell did not venture to disobey. He was now subjected to an indictment, like the imputed offence, itself a monster; he underwent a trial, proportionately heavy and protracted; and was at last found guilty, and imprisoned. The House of Lords reversed the judgment upon a writ of error; but O'Connell's power was virtually gone, the spell was broken: it vanished like the meteor of a hot summer's night, as soon as the gates of Richmond Bridewell had closed upon their prisoner. When he sunk to the level of a convicted offender, "the iron entered into his soul;" and he never was "himself again." He bore himself admirably during the term of his confinement, and upon the still more trying occasion of his discharge from prison. But he had grown old; the physical man was breaking down, while his political condition was growing day by day more critical, and claiming stronger energies and higher powers than had ever been demanded from him. Urgent was the appeal; but exhausted nature was unable to return the expected answer.



The demonstrations of moral force, to which O'Connell had always limited agitation, had been pushed to the extreme, and had completely failed. All his boasts and his predictions had proved vain and fruitless. The law had asserted its supremacy, and shown a strength which left him apparently no disposition to repeat his venture, and still less to carry it farther, by adopting the only alternative remaining—a resort to physical force. There were, however, amongst his followers, some who were less prudent. These were soon known as the Confederates, or Young Ireland Party. They split the Repealers into two sections—those who were for moral, and those for physical force: the common fate of divided bodies followed, and it was marked by this peculiarity—the Repealers had become, to a certain extent, intellectual; and they fell by their intellectuality. Pygmalion animated a statue, the Young Irelanders put brains into their idol. The brains blew its head off, and scattered the party to atoms.

At the head of this party appeared a name, which, for an interval, seemed destined to produce no common influence or effects in Irish politics: this was the name of Thomas Davis, the political essayist and song-writer. His admirers, when speaking of the time at which he began to write, quote an old Irish saying, which means—there came a soul into Ireland. And certainly there was a spirit in every thing that came from Davis, which went far to justify the praise implied in that quotation. No other man effected an equal result within the same time. When he died, the fire of genuine talent ceased to shine in the literature of his party. His life was so short as to enable him to do little more than to animate a circle. Had his career been prolonged—had the maturity of years ripened his exertions—had his plans been developed, and the nation been filled with his spirit, it seems possible he might have availed to regenerate his country by a master's touch, and with complete effect. But that is an idle speculation. He is dead, and the Regenerator of Ireland has still to occupy the stage.

Davis was a man of no ordinary talents or mental constitution.

A strong patriot, he was a stronger philanthropist. He took no low, vulgar, or degrading views of the present or the future ; of his opponents or his associates : his object always was to improve and elevate. Thoroughly acquainted with the defects of his fellow countrymen, he never became the vain flatterer of the national character—the faults of which are generally so active, and the good qualities so often passive. He rose high above the common error in that respect. He was genuine ; his love of goodness, truth, and industry, was deep—because he appreciated their inherent virtues. He never feared to tell his countrymen that they were ignorant, when he found them so ; and that without self-exertion it was impossible they could become powerful or worthy.

His writings were ephemeral—songs, and leading articles for newspapers, and short essays for magazines. He thought much, and seems to have committed all his thoughts to paper. As far as it is possible to judge of the natural character of a man by his written opinions, Davis is entitled to the praise of having been hopeful, energetic, and affectionate ; noble in his aspirations, and bent on succeeding only by worthy means. The military resources of the country are strongly urged, and appeals to arms are boldly inculcated in his songs ; but his essays are more intellectual in their range, and they are practical in their suggestions. When he excites the national hopes, he always fosters the sympathies of human nature ; and while anticipating better times he fails not to try and render every improvement permanent, by making the people worthy of it : this, in truth, was a noble design—to gain a better country through a better people.

He sings and writes fervently of disenthraling the people and rescuing the land. What definite ideas he entertained on this subject, by what means he thought it attainable, and by what particular process he would have sought to reach it, have not been explained. He died in the first act of an undeveloped drama. Others succeeded to his place, who were not his equals in elevation of mind or range of intellect, and they soon reduced the cause he adorned to an absurdity.

O'Connell lived to see this party formed ; to see it break

away from him and establish itself as a separate and independent body—with a new literature to popularize its doctrines, and spreading combinations which made the final result an issue not to be avoided. But he did not live to see the bubble burst, although he felt in all human probability his own “vocation gone.” As his health gave way, he was seized with a desire to die at Rome; but had only reached Genoa when he expired, May 15, 1847.

O’Connell’s career, difficult to understand or explain as a whole, from any one point of view, or upon any one ground of consideration, is only to be made intelligible by a minute and thorough appreciation of his personal character and constitution, or rather by resolving them into their elements. In no other instance, perhaps, has the idiosyncrasy of the person been so acted upon by the force of rare and powerful circumstances, and evolved a more extraordinary development of human intellect and enterprise. The moral individual—his mind in its normal state—the temper of the feelings that took root in his bosom early in life—the reflections that nurtured and animated the first exertions of the full-grown man, and impelled him to those achievements which constituted him the leader of his day—all these are to be ascertained, weighed, and accurately estimated, before we can safely pretend to form an opinion or to pass a judgment upon one of the most extraordinary political races ever run by man.

The place of his birth, and, more emphatically still, the condition of his family, tended largely to form and give a tone to his character. There is not in Ireland a wilder or more picturesque district of country than the county of Kerry; and few parts of it are more wild or picturesque than the neighbourhood of Cahirciveen and Darrynane. Mountains that penetrate the skies—valleys so deep as to look like the avenues of eternal gloom—lakes and streams of varied beauty—seasons of rain, mist, and storm, so heavy and protracted, as almost to realize the idea of a locality foredoomed to suffering and punishment; yet broken and relieved at glorious intervals, by skies so exquisitely clear, and sunshine so warm and genial, as to suggest a fancy that it must be the chosen



lap of health and sensuous life ;—such was the scenery in which O'Connell was born—began to look upon nature, and form his first ideas of her works, and the destinies of his species. Highly beautiful—most changeful—always in extremes, was the landscape upon which the boy's eye rested, and his mind brooded. All the images presented by it rose in grand proportions ; and besides the land there was the ocean—the measureless Atlantic—itself an object of eternal sublimity. How mighty a master was there here—and in how many moods “to teach the young idea how to shoot.”

The singular condition of his family must also have had its influence. Settled in a remote angle of the island—secluded and almost cut off from the rest of the land by mountains, ravines, and torrents—their dwelling was difficult of access, and far removed from any town of note or magnitude ; the country rocky and sterile, to a great extent, and in only a few parts fertile and productive—there were, beyond the simple elements of agricultural comfort, no means or resources, within their reach, of wealth, luxury, or enjoyment. Here the O'Connells had resided for ages—not the owners of the soil—that the law had forbidden, because they were Roman Catholics. But they cherished in their retirement, and brightened the obscurity of their lot with the memories and traditions of times long past, when their progenitors held local rank, power, and distinction. These are treasured themes in the generality of Irish households, and without doubt they were well preserved in O'Connell's family. At the time of his birth they were plain and respectable country people. They lived by farming, trafficking in land, and also by smuggling ; a pursuit which the full development of civilization has long rendered disreputable in England ; but by which, in the slower progress of Irish improvement, not a few men have been known to make a fortune during the last fifty years, without forfeiting the consideration of good society. In this way the O'Connells lived and improved their circumstances, just as the gradual relaxation of the penal code laid the mines of prosperity open to their industry and talent ; so

that, by slow degrees, two or three members of the family had acquired a fair substance and possessions as the eighteenth century was drawing to a close.

Now the question to be determined, in considering how far the after-life of Daniel O'Connell may have been cast and moulded in a particular form and direction, during the period of his infancy and youth, is this—What were the homely thoughts—what the fire-side topics of observation and condolence—what the secret and heart-sprung interchanges of mind and language, in a family circumstanced as his then was; living amidst that scenery—struggling to rise anew in the scale of society, and to make themselves once more masters of a right to hold the soil, and to regain a legitimate share of the powers, influence and weight, which in a former age their ancestors, they believed, had possessed, and been iniquitously deprived of? They were not, they could not have been highly educated men. The refined barbarism of the laws, which had deprived them of their estates, forbade the cultivation of their minds, in order that, being uninstructed, they might be the less able to recover the rights of which they had been despoiled. But they were evidently men of sense, enterprise, and talents, successfully applied to the business of life. Can we doubt how such men talked to one another over their own fire-sides? Are we not almost as certain as if we had been present, of the strain in which they commented, in the bosom of their family, upon those subjects which never grew old or tiresome in their own charmed circle—the topics that relate to ancient distinctions unjustly abolished; wealth, fortune, and honour cruelly swept away by the mailed arms of rapine and persecution; ages of degradation, poverty, and grief, for the sake of religious faith; and at last a sweet light shining dimly, and barely discernable, afar off in the prospective, which diffuses a new glow through their fallen natures; rekindles hope long depressed and torpid; calls up to life visions of liberty regained, greatness restored, and the glories of an ancient lineage re-established.

Is it necessary to ask what was the temper, or with what words the stranger and the Saxon, who had so long victimised

this family, and the mass of their fellow-countrymen, were habitually considered and spoken of, when the turf fire blazed clearly in the chimney-nooks of Carhen and Darrynane, and the faces around grew ruddy with the smuggled vintages of France, which, despite the spoiler and his oppressive excise, they grew strong in quaffing? Nature will give the same answer to that question in the breast of every human being. There was but one spirit and language for such a condition of life—it was that of deep and inextinguishable hatred, but suppressed and dissembled, as soon as divulged, from a wary fear lest a knowledge of its intensity might alarm the relaxing tyrant, and arrest the course of his tardy concessions.

Such were the qualities with which it is easy to conceive O'Connell's mind to have been imbued when he was a boy; and their effect upon his ardent and capacious nature must have been heightened by the romantic character of the country in which he was bred. They “grew with his growth, and strengthened with his strength;” and when, in after life, a new era developed more grateful sensations—blotting out much of the darkness of the past, and placing a bright reality in its stead—the transition came as two strong currents meet in the ocean—they rush one against the other, the surface of the sea becomes immediately changed; the waves are upheaved far and near; there is a general commotion; and should the winds blow fiercely at that moment, terrible is the storm that arises, and almost irresistible the destruction with which it is charged.

It was the great misfortune of O'Connell's life that his opening intellect was steeped in the bitterness engendered by the penal laws. The impressions thus produced were indelible. They became a part of his nature, and could not be thrown off. By his connexion with two distinct and broadly marked eras—persecution and emancipation—he was deeply imbued with, and alternately swayed by, the influence of both; and it is to the distraction of their different powers that we are to ascribe his having failed to realise, with first-rate talents, a first-rate fame—or to render to his country that full measure of good



service which the high order of his natural abilities, and her deep necessities, rendered so appropriate and desirable.

No Englishman should venture to criticise the political life of O'Connell, without beginning at the starting point, and making himself fully master of those incidental details, which in his case, as in every other, fill the springs of human action, and give a distinctive bias and complexion to the career of the individual. He was born a political slave, and he never could divest himself of a sense of that indignity, or of the fact that it had been inflicted upon him and upon his race by Englishmen. Assuaging as was the change which the course of his life developed; and soothing as were the successes which his own labours contributed to elevate his race and country to their proper rank, in the scale of nations and society; the remembrance of what he had been in his boyhood and his youth—thoughts of all his father and his grandfather had been doomed to endure—the cruel wrongs and heartless tyranny with which their gloomy lives had been surcharged—the lingering conviction that, although alleviated, that state of things had never been atoned for or avenged—and, worst of all, the feeling that though much had been gained, there was still much more to gain;—all this must have often broken in upon his gayest and most exciting hours, dimming the brightness of triumph, marring the harmony of popular applause, and showing him to himself a man still resisted and repulsed. In such moments, the worst feelings that the state of slavery begets in human nature would pour their gall with withering effect upon his generous nature. The fire of the old hatred kindled in his youth, the venom of the dissimulation instilled, when the slave was forced to crouch and dissemble, would then overrun his soul, and the perfection of a great character was eaten up by their ravages.

O'Connell was a demagogue—the word, like almost everything that can boast of antiquity, has undergone some vile associations; but it is one too distinct and forcible in its meaning to be lightly superseded or disused—we therefore repeat that O'Connell was a demagogue in the highest and truest

sense of the word. The exigencies of his era demanded a demagogue, and nature furnished him with every quality by which the character can be rendered conspicuous and effective. In using these he neither disappointed the requirements of his country nor the providence of nature. Physically well formed and healthful—ardent and enterprising—versatile and adroit—fond of display and profuse of expense—of a bold and manly presence, with consummate eloquence, inexhaustible in its resources, and most diversified in its capabilities—mustering together the most formidable weapons with which the power of speech can be armed, sarcasm and humour; and wielding both in their highest state of temper and refinement—there never spoke a man to listening multitudes more wonderfully endowed than O'Connell with every quality to excite and sway their passions; to draw their minds irresistibly to his purpose; and yoke their persons as willing hostages to the chariot-wheels of his glory.

His agitation of the Catholic Question for more than twenty years is one of the ablest examples of individual exertion to be found in the whole range of history. No doubt he had great aids and singular encouragement:—there was the innate and indefeasible justice of the cause itself; the sympathy and co-operation of all liberal politicians in England; the irresistible impulse given to its progress by the genius of Burke, Fox, Grattan, Canning, and other luminaries of the age, who had again and again enforced its righteousness in the noblest strains of oratory, and with all the authority of the highest station and the most accomplished experience: but, giving to all these favouring circumstances their full weight and influence, the portion of the general skill, labour, and genius required to carry the measure, which was still left to O'Connell, as his personal share of the achievement, was uncommonly great, arduously severe, and only to be accomplished by a rare combination of the highest mental and bodily powers with which man can be gifted by nature.

And what ordeals did he not pass through—encountering successfully the petulant dissensions, and personal jealousies

of the early Associations—the counteraction of the aristocratic and plebeian elements of which they were compounded—the constant tendency of individuals to turn the agitation to a source of personal advantage and preferment! Against these he contended, with never-failing skill and courage, and also against the power of the Government and the fangs of the law—displaying at every turn in the conflict unexhausted art and unwearied perseverance—now evading the snares, and now bending to the force put out to entrap and overthrow him—withdrawing for a time, and then re-occupying his ground with surprising elasticity, after having been driven, apparently beaten, from the field, and stripped of all means to prosecute the cause; and thus—ever vigorous, hopeful, insisting and buoyant from first to last, until with matchless dexterity he wound up the climax of his services, and brought the machinery of the constitution to a dead lock; attesting to the world at large that it was in the power of an individual, as the organ and representative of an oppressed people, to prevent that masterpiece of the wisdom of mankind from performing its due functions for the future. There was in all that a rare and astonishing demonstration of talent, and a result attained, equal in point of magnitude and effect to any other occurrence of an age, fertile beyond example in the production of great events.

Even now, the thing is nothing short of sublime to contemplate. There came the gay and dashing Irishman—after centuries of oppression, he stood and looked as erect, vigorous, cheerful, and aspiring, as if he had never been degraded or disparaged. He had been shut out from the constitution—he had been deprived of its rights and privileges—he had been deemed an unworthy associate of free and upright men—and yet there he came boldly and with a loud confidence, thundering at the door of the constitution, and demonstrating with irresistible force that his admission to the temple was indispensable to its preservation.

Weak, contemptibly weak, was the temporary effort made to exclude him; but, ere long, the gates of the ancient edifice



were thrown wide open, and the injured Irishman entered the sacred walls upon terms of perfect equality with its most honoured inmates.

In that great act centres the glory of O'Connell's life, and it will never die. It is vain to try and dim its lustre, by turning to subsequent passages of his career, and instancing errors in his conduct and blemishes in his character. The recollection of these will fade away and be forgotten—that will survive while Great Britain and Ireland retain a history. His coarseness, occasionally; his addiction to virulent personalities; his inconsistency at various times, and upon questions of principle which admitted not of doubt or contradiction; his strange neglect of practical measures; his confused and unproductive agitation for a Repeal of the Union; his rent; his tributes; and the whole system of raising pecuniary contributions, principally from the lower order of his fellow-countrymen—in all these there may have been blots and drawbacks: but they sink into insignificance, and leave but a faint impression upon the mind, when compared with the one great fact—that, after more than twenty years of persevering exertion, he actually compelled two such men as the Duke of Wellington and Sir R. Peel to emancipate the Roman Catholics. Burke, Pitt, Fox, Sheridan, Grattan, Canning—all had tried: but they lay in their graves—the cause uncarried—until O'Connell came, and he availed. Such a man could well afford to have many faults.

O'Connell was too sagacious a politician to meditate civil war. He knew well that his countrymen had been singularly unsuccessful in their appeals to arms; and that this had always happened, even when their wrongs were far more galling to bear than were any which they suffered during his lifetime: he knew the characters of the different classes he had to deal with; the country people—brave, honest, ardent, and prepared to fight to desperation; the townsmen and middle classes—self-interested, tricky, cowardly, and sure to betray the cause of war: he knew, moreover, that to attempt a revolution, and fail in it, only aggravates the evils out

of which the resort to violence has arisen : he knew full well that the forms of constitutional liberty afford the righteous and only sure means for the redress of grievances and the progress of improvement : all this he certainly knew, felt strongly, and bowed to solemnly, as matter of religious truth and sacred duty ; and in the depth of his convictions, in these respects, lay the seat of the great error of his second career. He felt his power so sensitively, as to be unable to refrain from displaying it. Intoxicated with popularity, he was unable to act upon his convictions with any degree of perseverance, energy, or confidence, commensurate with the eminence of his talents and the elasticity of his character. The excitement of agitation whetted his ambition, while it gratified his vanity ; and it sufficed so easily to raise the funds required to keep up the personal system he had raised, that he could not resist the fascinations by which it led him on to be at all times the idol of the multitude. Had he bestowed upon the discharge of his grave and far more salutary duties, as a Member of Parliament, a tithe of the labour, the industry, the eloquence, and the genius which he lavished unavailingly upon the Repeal agitation, he might have removed from the Irish system every inequality and ground of complaint under which his countrymen have to suffer. Never Irishman did more in his own time—never Irishman missed the opportunity of doing so much. Often as he gave proofs of superior ability in handling details and explaining the operation of systems, he failed to realise the character of a practical politician.

O'Connell had other merits : he raised the character of his religion and of his countrymen, and made them more respected than they had ever been in England and throughout the world. He disabused the public mind of many prejudices and mistakes with respect to both. He was the first Irishman who showed effectively, and beyond dispute, that a Roman Catholic is not necessarily a slave ; and that he yields to no man in his love for freedom, and the ardour with which he engages in its cause. In Ireland and in England, at public meetings and in the House of Commons, O'Connell constantly pleaded with irre-

sistible eloquence on behalf of the oppressed all over the world. On no subject was he more energetic or more consistent than in his denunciation of slavery in America—a crime which he never ceased to inveigh against with vigorous severity.

The good he did, by rousing the attention of all classes of men to the state of Ireland, was immense. That country cannot be said to have been understood in England before his time. To him, and his forcible expositions of the extent of past misgovernment and present neglect—to the manly spirit he always displayed—the high and independent position he always asserted for himself, and for his fellow-countrymen equally—to his incessant vindication of the claims of Ireland and of Irishmen, it is unquestionably owing, that all men in that country have assumed of late years a higher and a juster sense of their rights and responsibilities. O'Connell taught not the Roman Catholics alone, but the Protestants and Presbyterians also, that their country had not been fairly treated; that it deserved far more consideration than it received; and that it behoved them, one and all, to insist upon a change in this respect. This was no ordinary merit, nor has the benefit derived from it been a slight one. However faulty his latter career, both as to its policy and results, it had this accompaniment throughout—that it forced men, who would not have bestowed a thought upon the subject, under any less urgent provocation, to examine the state of Ireland thoroughly, and to originate various measures of improvement which would not otherwise have been produced. This, too, must be admitted of the Repeal agitation—that it tended, more than anything else, to open out to public view the sore places and galling parts of the Irish system, the number of bad laws that exist, and the infinite variety of malpractices, by which laws, not bad in themselves, are made extremely bad in their operation.

Such was O'Connell—the foremost of his countrymen in a period of transition—partaking largely of the qualities which give a character to that period—and destined to be remem-



bered as the objects for which he contended shall find a place in the settled state of things to which the country seems to be at last approaching.

Scarcely an outline of the History of Ireland, from the death of O'Connell to the present time, is to be written as yet with fairness or propriety. The famine, which began in the year 1845, still continues its ravages; and is now, for the fourth year, wasting the population with pestilence and death. We know the extent to which it has gone, but not the extent to which it may go: the tide of human misery must run out in that direction before the story of its sufferings can be told; or the sum added up, of how much charity has given, how much the State has advanced, and how much taxation has contributed for its relief and removal. The landlords, after having destroyed the tenantry of the country, have fallen in their turn into the destitution of their dependants: they have sunk together, and the collapse of the extremes involves the ruin of the landed interest. The portion destined to survive the wreck of famine on the one side, and the total subversion of the Irish system on the other, is an undiscovered quantity on which speculation and conjecture would now be ill bestowed. Reserve for the present is still more becoming, respecting the events which of late have wound up the aberrations of the Irish Confederates, and discontinued the Repeal Agitation. These cannot be related or discussed with propriety, while the legal fate of those who have been convicted of participating in them remains undecided.

But there are a few facts to be noted which deserve the deepest attention. One of the first things remarked, at the beginning of this Outline of the History of Ireland since the Union, was the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act: we are now about to conclude the sketch, and we see Ireland stripped again of the protection of that law. We approach the close of half a century of "Union Government," without having advanced so far in the work of consolidation and uniformity as not to exclude the Irish from the pale of the constitution. In 1798 there was a rebellion, in 1803 an

armed insurrection, in 1848 another armed insurrection. Men of property, talent, character, and station have appeared as leaders on each of those occasions. The demonstrations of discontent since the Union will be found to have exceeded those within the corresponding period before that event. We reach the climax when we state that each succeeding year is seen to add to the strength of the standing army in Ireland.\*

Is the case then utterly hopeless ;—is the Irish difficulty to endure for ever ? Not so—thank God, not so, if at last our statesmen will act with energy and an honest spirit. The Irish difficulty has been broken down by its own grossness—the Irish opportunity has arisen. Let us review the subject, and mark the rubbish that is to be cleared away before the foundations of a new system can be properly laid.

Both at the beginning, and again towards the conclusion, of this work stress has been especially laid upon the impropriety of retaining a Vice-regal Court in Dublin. That establishment involves not merely an inconsistency or practical contradiction, but something worse. It operates as a drawback and a hindrance to unanimity and general confidence. It presents not only the semblance, but much of the substance of a separate form of government ; and must, on all hands, be admitted to offer a standing proof that the Union is not a perfect measure.

It has been shown :—First, as to land ; That by a series of confiscations and proscriptions, severe and extensive beyond all example, the ownership of the soil was limited to Protestants, persons professing a religion which had never been adopted by the great majority of the inhabitants ; and that, as a consequence of the laws enacted with that object, the landlords in Ireland have always been armed with stronger powers,

\* The Number of Troops serving in Ireland at the following periods was :—

Year.	Number.	Year.	Number.
1802	11,861	1845	23,776
1822	22,789	1846	24,114
1842	16,556	1847	28,108

and the tenants admitted to fewer rights, than are enjoyed by the corresponding class in England and in Scotland. In those countries, the tenant possesses many protections, and is entitled to considerable recompense for the investment of capital and labour in improvements : both the law and the custom of the country encourage him in these respects. In Ireland, nothing of the kind is to be found : there the law gives no such right, and the custom of the country affords no encouragement.

The minister who permits this state of things to continue unaltered deserves serious blame ; for it supplies foul proofs of misgovernment. It matters not that attempts have been made to mend the law in this particular, and that one bill was brought in for the purpose by Lord Stanley, and another by Sir W. Somerville. Failure in these things is only a proof of incompetency. A government, to be a good one, should not only persevere, but succeed in the promotion of improvements and the concession of rights. It behoves a statesman as much to acquire distinction for these qualities, as it is the duty of a slave to contend for liberty, and the interest of all men to labour for the success of their own undertakings, and the suppression of evil generally. When the professions of the Whigs, and the length of time they have been in office,\* are borne in mind, their deficiencies in these and other respects will be found to have been serious.

Secondly ; It has been shown, as to religion, that three forms of worshipping God are observed by the people ; and that one of these—having, comparatively speaking, few followers—is largely endowed and highly honoured by the State ; that another form, adopted by nearly the same number of followers, obtains a moderate allowance from the State, with a result perfectly satisfactory ; and that the third religion—

\* The quarter of a century during which the Tories succeeded in excluding the Whigs from office may come to be outbalanced. Earl Grey came into power, November 22, 1830, and since then we have had Sir R. Peel Premier five years and two months ; that is, from December 26, 1834, to April 18, 1835 ; and from September 6, 1841 to July 6, 1846. So that the Whigs have now enjoyed place for nearly fifteen years.



zealously adhered to by the bulk of the population—is in no way provided for, except by a limited grant for the education of its clergy.

It has been shown, that for half a century the most eminent men of all our political parties have concurred in recommending the policy of a regular provision for the Roman Catholic clergy; and it has been insisted that, until that Church and hierarchy are brought to co-operate with the State for the maintenance of order, we cannot with any degree of confidence anticipate content and respect for the laws amongst the people, or rely for any continuous period of time upon a peaceful or a prosperous condition of the country.

Thirdly; It has been shown, that the state of education resembles in many essential particulars the state of religion; but that the principle of a more equal distribution of the public funds to that object has made fair progress of late years, and been attended with results so good as to make it matter of regret that further steps have not been taken in the same direction. Zealots of different persuasions will no doubt resist it, and hold out, each for his own exclusive scheme or plan; but the general conviction of society has been testified so decidedly in favour of the superior efficacy of a national system, which shall be equally open to all religions, without fostering with partiality any one in particular; that there is no room whatever to doubt or question the degree of general support which would now be given to any minister who would undertake to fill up the void that has so long prevailed in this respect.

Fourthly; It has been shown, that the Board of Works ought to be abolished, and that the private enterprise of the country ought to be set free from the trammels of Government interference, and the corruption of Government patronage. Sir R. Peel adopted the true standard in 1844, when he determined to aid the introduction of railways into Ireland upon the English system, leaving the people free to pursue the course they deemed the most convenient and beneficial, without seeking to make his Government the masters of the movement, and

to crush the public industry by the restraints of official protection and the false strength of official help. By that wise course, Sir Robert is entitled to claim the merit of having created an amount of capital, given an extent of employment, and afforded a degree of accommodation to all classes of the Irish public, the full advantages of which have not as yet been estimated. More has thus been effected within five years, and in a better manner, than in the preceding fifty. The rate of progress has been such as to justify the most sanguine expectations of future improvement : for not only have the Irish produced capital ; but they have proved, by their expenditure of it, that although their own experience has been limited in these matters, their observation of the proceedings of their neighbours has been attentive, and that their powers of turning the knowledge thus acquired to account are considerable. If the Whigs would show the political discrimination evinced in the matter of private enterprise by Sir R. Peel ; and if, for instance, instead of preventing, as they are at this moment attempting to do, the Irish Corporations from improving their local affairs, and establishing throughout the country sound forms of municipal constitution upon the English system, they were to countenance those bodies in that laudable work, the internal state of Ireland would be totally changed in a few years. New measures would create a new spirit, and bring out new men ; and the people would exert themselves when they saw the rewards of exertion within their own reach. But no man of spirit or talent will trouble himself about the management, or improvement either of local or any other affairs, while all the benefit and all the honour to be attained in such pursuits are carried off by a Government Board and its pompous staff of official pretenders. This, however, is not a view of things likely to make an impression upon the minds of modern Whigs, who are martinets in their way, and are always of opinion that nothing can be well done unless there is a Government Board erected for the purpose, and a Whig "Doctrinaire" put at the head of it to order every thing according to rule.

Fifthly; The Irish Reform and Irish Municipal Acts have been strongly condemned. Immediate steps should be taken to place the two countries upon equal terms, as to the Elective Franchise and Corporate Rights. It is a blot upon the honesty of our statesmen to see them, whenever they feel embarrassed by the state of Irish affairs, come forward and protest that the people of both countries are entitled to equal laws, and should have them; and yet to allow, in the teeth of these declarations, year after year to pass by, and the most insulting inequalities to remain on the statute-book. Such conduct not only justifies discontent, but makes opposition to the Government a duty. The understanding of the nation is insulted when Sir R. Peel and Lord John Russell echo their protestations upon this subject, and the Secretary for Ireland is heard to talk session after session of a Corporation Reform Bill, which has not as yet been produced; while his Elective Franchise Bill lies waiting for committee in the second year of its existence.

Land, religion, and education are the subjects on which it behoves the minister to move:—the people, if permitted to act as their wants compel them, would gradually set the rest to rights in a constitutional manner. Freedom for that line of action is most desirable. As to the structural legislation required for Ireland, that should be comprehensive, and not only promptly, but simultaneously applied. The peace of the country, or rather the completion of the Union, has now been delayed for nearly half a century, mainly because our Irish legislation has been always tardy and always piecemeal. Our leading men during all this time have pointed to certain defects, and proposed needful changes; but they have too often been overawed and drawn back from the fulfilment of their duty. And, when they have at length been driven into action, they have been content to deal with one subject at a time; so that, while one breach has been repaired, a dozen have been left open—and distress, injury, waste, and confusion have invariably prevailed.

A noble labour here awaits the genius of the English states-



man. The Irish system, full of fate, has worn itself out ; prejudice and corruption have been eaten up and consumed by the excesses of their own grossness—the landed interest who sacrificed the peasantry have been immolated in their turn—and if discontent still sits, heavily brooding in some directions, it points to the cause and pants for its removal. There is, at this moment, an opportunity presented for reconstructing the basis of society and re-establishing its institutions by gentle means and upon fair terms, such as has never been within the reach of legislation before. The whole face and nature of the country is to be regenerated with ease and quickness. But it is not in Ireland that we are to seek a master-hand to accomplish this great and most desirable work. Nothing proves the utter prostration of that country more than the fact that, during the period of unexampled distress through which it is slowly moving, not a single Irishman has displayed talents in any degree equal to the emergencies of the occasion. The national mind has been even more depressed and exhausted than the national soil and substance. If the effect of the general calamity upon the land has been to leave it a desert, and let it run waste ; the effect upon the public mind has been to dry up its genius, and leave it barren.

To an English statesman, then, we must turn for the regeneration of Ireland ; and there is one man who has advanced with steps so steady, and so measured a dignity, towards this transcendant object, that all eyes are naturally fixed upon him as the person who is to crown the splendid toil upon which the genius of every minister of the present generation has been expended without producing the full measure of success. Whatever others may have projected or desired, Sir R. Peel has certainly done most, and that in the best manner, for the benefit of Ireland. With the cause of that country his name is closely bound up, never to be dissevered. His acts in connexion with it are only to be viewed with feelings of the highest honour to him, and the deepest gratitude from her. In point of number, magnitude, and, above all, completeness, they constitute him by far a greater redresser of the griev-

ances, and a more able repairer of the past misgovernment of that country, than all the statesmen of his era put together. If he had never originated a single measure for England—if the return to cash payments, the reform of the criminal law, the reconstruction of our banking system, and the abolition of the Corn Laws, had been the products of another mind—still might he safely commit his fame to the admiration of future ages upon the strength, liberality, justice, and effectiveness of his Irish improvements.

From the day on which he felt that Ireland was his great difficulty, he seems to have resolved to overcome it. An error seen is half redressed; and Sir Robert, probably, was not long in discovering the right track. Once found, he appears never to have lost sight of it. This must have been long before he made a public declaration upon the subject—long before he was Premier. His Catholic Relief Bill could not have been an impromptu. Some of its details may be open to criticism: its securities and its oaths may be feeble devices; but they are excrescences that may be lopped off without injury to the measure itself, the great body of which is sound and perfect—firm in all the qualities of organic structure—and sure to live, while the constitution lasts. It is by far the most important measure of our time; and of no other can it be affirmed that it has so fully answered the purposes for which it was designed.

Equal praise is due to the Irish enactments of his last administration—the Maynooth and Provincial Colleges Acts, of which notice has already been taken. They are framed to work the sound principles out of which they have arisen. And there lies the superior skill—the efficacy of Sir R. Peel's legislation for Ireland. He produces no half-measures; he gives nothing as a boon which is resented, when granted, as an injustice; he never rears an ill-founded or weakly-framed structure, which it is necessary to prop up and patch, as soon as raised. He creates institutions that are either to be kept up or pulled down. They are complete in themselves. You may follow on with kindred labours: you may extend the works—

add a wing—raise a dome over a portico—exalt and embellish ; but the substantial utility of the undertaking is not to be mended. He never has to try back and mend his hand. How different and far short of that accomplishment have been the efforts of his rivals and cotemporaries !

Sir Robert is now out of office, and it may be his choice not to resume it ; he is the last statesman who surrendered power to the Irish difficulty ; but his mind has never been more active, nor his power more efficacious for Irish uses. He has come to the rescue of a struggling ministry, and taught them how to set one arm of this imperial difficulty. If he had not led the way, exhorted them to the trial, and produced the plan ; assuredly the Whigs would never have ventured to cut the Gordian Knot of the land question, by establishing a commission to supersede the slow and costly process of the Court of Chancery, and give a cheap sale and a good title to the encumbered estates. The Church Question still remains ; but no man, who has studied Sir R. Peel's policy and attended to his measures, will believe him to be unprepared to deal with that arm of the difficulty as ably as he has dealt with the other. A short interval will suffice to show how far this anticipation is correct : the number of those who look forward with confidence to the result is by no means few—at least in Ireland.

Short of this consummation, there are but faint hopes to be entertained of a better future in Ireland. However religion may in its end be an affair of the next world, it is made so much a matter of concern by all men in this world, that almost every thing is sure to go wrong where the regulations of the State happen, in that respect, to be mistaken or ill founded. While the Irish mistrust or resent the Ecclesiastical Establishments imposed upon them, they will suspect and resist us on all subjects. There is a cue to be found here for much that appears obscure, contradictory, and irreclaimable in the national character.

Whoever notes attentively the state of public feeling and opinion in Ireland, particularly amongst the Roman Catholics,



who compose the mass of the population, will not fail to observe that it has for many years past been presented in two phases. There is the expression given, when it has been roused and heated by the fire of the popular advocate and Agitator; and then the body is seen to heave and roar, like the sea in a storm. At other times, and when vented in a smaller compass, by a few tongues or individually, it is found gentle, diffident, and reserved—so much so, that, without the application of skill and persevering solicitation, it is not to be extracted and drawn forth. Such is then the timid docility of the communicants, as to make it appear doubtful whether they could ever have formed component parts of the hurricanes which have so often displaced the order of society, and imperilled the authority of Government.

The explanation of this apparent contradiction is not difficult. Want of confidence in England, in her statesmen and in her laws, lies at the root of it. We have no hold upon the affections, and but a doubtful hold upon the interests of these people. They receive our best professions with incredulity, because they see in the institutions we have given them the real proofs of our designs. By them we are judged and condemned. Thus is the mass of the population driven to lock up their true feelings and strongest thoughts in the sanctuary of their own bosoms, and to make the study of their minds a mystery to the stranger. The laws by which we propose to bind them are too often made upon the open declaration of sentiments delivered in a high state of excitement and fermentation. Their inmost thoughts, their true partialities, their natural tendency to the cultivation of the homely affections, and the more generous aspirations of humanity; these are themes and points of consideration upon which we seldom act, until our inattention and carelessness have been turned to a desperate account by the arts of discontent and the impatience of unmitigated distress. These are left to convulse the sphere of society, until a thunder-storm breaks out, which, after alarming the empire for a brief interval, passes quickly away, and shows the number of the disaffected to have been

small, and their powers of mischief to have been insignificant. Security re-appears, and with it indifference. We relapse into our old state of feeling—meaning well, and doing little more than throwing away money upon palliatives, which are administered like the quack-doctor's pills—if one box don't cure, try a second. Thus, million is given after million, and no good is done. Now the money is to pay arrears of tithes to the parsons—now, to feed the starving poor—now, to save the broken landlords : but still the cry is always the same—Help, instant help, or we perish !

How repeatedly has not this happened—how often has not the opportunity been offered ; but when has advantage been taken of it. We have it at this moment, and more favourably than ever : are we about to let it pass from us even once more ? The evils that imperatively call for redress—the grievances that truly require to be assuaged—are well known ; they are indisputable. But there is, unfortunately, room to fear that, confident in the proof so recently afforded of there being nothing substantially formidable in the reclamations of Irish suffering, the old sores will be left to fester anew ; the standing inequalities will remain uncorrected ; and the field for the display of indignant patriotism, disturbance, and rebellion, will be left as open and as rank as ever.

# INDEX.

- Absenteeism, ii. 456; iii. 77
- Account of Ireland in 1773, ii. 122, 137
- Acres and people, statistics of, i. 1
- Act for abrogating oath of supremacy in Ireland, ii. 114
- Act for liberty of conscience, ii. 111
- Acts of settlement, ii. 76, 79
- Agrarian disturbances, iii. 414
- Agrarian insurrection, ii. 420
- Agricultural and Commercial Bank of Ireland, iii. 363
- Agricultural Model Schools, iii. 238
- Anathemas of the clergy, i. 201
- Anglo-Irish history, three eras of, i. 326
- Antagonism of the two great classes, ii. 388
- Antagonistic parties, four, ii. 41
- Appropriation clause, iii. 137
- Appropriation of church revenues, iii. 129
- Archbishop Comyn, i. 327
- Aristocracy, a new, ii. 10
- Arthur, Mr. Francis, cruel imprisonment of, ii. 240; his mock trial, 242
- Arts and manufactures, iii. 291
- Ascendancy of the Geraldines, i. 159
- Association for Discouragement of Vice, iii. 228
- Attainders for high treason, ii. 401
- Ballinasloe, cattle fair at, iii. 53
- Banking, iii. 352
- Bank of Ireland, iii. 332; Acts relative to, 334; statistics, 337, 361, 374; opposition to Provincial Bank, 358
- Banks, extensive failures of, iii. 345; joint-stock, 350
- Baptists, iii. 177
- Baronets, creation of, i. 306
- Barrow navigation, ii. 297, 319, 321
- Battle of the Boyne, ii. 104
- Battles between English and Irish, i. 96—106
- Bedford, Duke of, lord lieutenant, ii. 145
- Beggars, iii. 39
- Belfast Academical Institution, iii. 225
- Belfast Banking Company, iii. 362
- Belfast, Lord, his boroughmongering, i. 323
- Beresfords, the, lead the governing oligarchy, ii. 220; history of the family, iii. 440
- Bianconi not the inventor of jaunting car, ii. 351; plan of his establishment, 352
- Bishops, political misgovernment of, i. 329
- Blackburne, Chief Justice, on evictions, ii. 418
- Board of Works should be abolished, ii. 382
- Boulter, Primate, ii. 131
- Boyle, Richard, the great Earl of Cork, ii. 10
- Boyne navigation, ii. 299, 338
- Bristol, Earl of, lord lieutenant, ii. 150
- British and Irish revenue compared, i. 18
- Broughill, Lord, ii. 56, 66, 68
- Buckingham, Marquis of, lord lieutenant, ii. 196
- Buckinghamshire, Earl of, lord lieutenant, ii. 159; his letter to Lord North, 164
- Burke's letter to Sir H. Languish, ii. 118
- Butler, Richard, third Viscount Mountgarret, ii. 32
- Butlers and Geraldines contrasted, i. 163
- Butlers, Earls of Ormonde, i. 161, 203; ii. 15
- Cairns and cromlechs, i. 54, 55
- Camden, Earl of, lord lieutenant, ii. 223
- Canning, Mr., premier, iii. 441
- Capital, grants of, a false principle, ii. 271; private fortunes thereby made, 275
- Carlisle, Earl of, lord lieutenant, ii. 181
- Carrick-on-Suir Bank, iii. 367
- Castlereagh, Lord, ii. 231



- Castlereagh, Lord, iii. 418 ; duel with Mr. Canning, 419 ; Secretary for Foreign Affairs, 426
- Catholic Association founded, iii. 436
- Catholic emancipation, iii. 127, 415—445, 467
- Cattle, number of, sold at Ballinasloe, iii. 53 ; exportation of, 295
- x Celibacy of the clergy, iii. 108
- Century during which Ireland has no history, ii. 120
- Charles I., Ireland under, ii. 3
- Charlemont, Lord, ii. 190
- Chichester, Lord Belfast, i. 321
- Chieftains, sixty native, i. 237, 298
- Christianity, rapid diffusion of, iii. 110
- Church Education Society, iii. 232
- Church establishment, submission to the state, i. 330 ; Warburton's idea of the principles of a, iii. 180 ; Paley's ditto, 181
- Church of England, early power of, iii. 113
- x Church of Ireland, estates of, i. 355
- Church Temporalities Act, iii. 144
- City of Dublin Steam Packet Company, ii. 297
- Civilisation, progress of, ii. 264
- Clanrickarde, Lord, ii. 19, 62, 68
- Clare, Lord, speech on the union, ii. 274 ; death, iii. 386
- Clarence, Duke of, lord lieutenant, i. 198
- Clarendon, Lord, ii. 87, 101
- Clonmel Bank, iii. 367
- Clonard School, iii. 205
- Coalition ministry of Fox and North, ii. 195
- Coins and metallic money, i. 72
- Collision between civil and ecclesiastical authority, i. 333
- Colonial form of government, i. 43
- Commerce, ii. 288
- Commercial propositions, ii. 195, 199
- Commissioners of land, report on condition of Ireland, ii. 439
- Commissioners of public works, ii. 324 ; expenditure of, 328 ; general character of their operations, 337 ; their published acts, 363 ; compared with private enterprise, 365
- Computation of tithes, iii. 143
- Confederates, iii. 460
- Confederates, division of, ii. 41
- Confiscation of lands during the rebellion, ii. 72 ; under Henry VIII., 399
- Connaught, plantation in, i. 316
- Con O'Neil, first Earl of Tyrone, i. 271
- Constitution, early political, i. 67
- Constitutional government, no form of, from 1795—1800, ii. 222
- Coote, Sir C., ii. 67
- Cornwallis, Marquis of, lord lieutenant, ii. 243
- Corporation for promoting inland navigation, ii. 315
- Corruption, ii. 196, 205
- Cotton manufacture, iii. 313
- Counties, distribution of, by English kings, i. 110 ; valuation of, iii. 13
- Court of claims, ii. 81
- Crawford, Mr. Sharman, bill to compensate tenantry for improvements, ii. 442
- Crime, agrarian, iii. 55 ; extent and means of suppression, 61
- Cromwell, lord lieutenant, ii. 55 ; his army, character of, 58 ; his confiscations, 412
- Crown, authority of, during 16th century, i. 301 ; obtains patronage of Irish sees, iii. 117
- Custom and excise, boards of, divided, ii. 158
- Custom duties, amount of, iii. 305
- Danish invasions, iii. 112
- Danish settlements, i. 75
- Davis, Thomas, political essayist, iii. 460
- Debt of Ireland, iii. 331, 336
- De Burghs, their origin, i. 138 ; decline, 158
- De Ledred, bishop of Ossory, i. 331
- Dermod O'Doogan, the harper, i. 292
- Desmonds, history of the, i. 196
- De Tocqueville's opinion on the democratic character of catholicity, iii. 191
- Devotional mind of Irish, iii. 25
- Discontent, ii. 223
- Dixon, a captain in the rebel army, ii. 249
- Doneraile conspiracy in 1829, iii. 68
- Dress, Sunday, of Irish girls, iii. 38
- Druids, iii. 96
- Drury, Sir William, i. 258
- Dublin and Drogheda railway, ii. 309, 372
- Dublin and Kingstown railway, ii. 306, 335
- Dublin and Liverpool Steam-ship Building Company, ii. 297
- Dublin Police Bill, iii. 416
- Dublin, see of, not filled by Irishmen, i. 362 ; list of archbishops, 363

- Ecclesiastical benefices, number of, iii. 146, 155; important statistics relative to, 158  
 Ecclesiastical commission, iii. 129  
 Ecclesiastical courts, jurisdiction of, i. 331  
 Ecclesiastical lands, James I.'s regulations as to, i. 356  
 Education, history of, iii. 203; official information relative to, 217, 235; suggestions for improvement of, 283. See also "Schools."  
 Educational establishment, summary of, iii. 282  
 Ejectments, ii. 391; iii. 39; statistics of, ii. 440  
 Elements of division and weakness, i. 75  
 Eleven years' war, causes of, ii. 71  
 Elizabeth, Queen, her desire of plunder, i. 282; her temper irritated by troubles of Ireland, 288; death of, 294; her wars, 302  
 Emmett, Robert, leads an insurrection, iii. 390; speech on being found guilty, 392  
 English colony in Munster, i. 302  
 English feeling towards Ireland during reign of William III., ii. 118  
 English government supreme, ii. 130  
 English parliament's dominion over Ireland, ii. 115  
 English Protestant system triumphant, ii. 130  
 Enniskilleners, ii. 105  
 Enterprise, private, ii. 263, 361; checked by government, ii. 269; superior to government administration, 276, 309  
 Epochs, three grand, in Ireland's history since the Union, iii. 377  
 Established church, constitution of, iii. 124; strength of, 128; reforms in, 131; not destined to flourish in Ireland, 189  
 Estates, English, best managed, iii. 77  
 Estates, power of selling, ii. 449  
 Exchequers, English and Irish, consolidation of, iii. 301  
 Execution of Lord Thomas Kildare and five brothers at Tyburn, i. 248  
 Executions for heresy, iii. 119  
 Expatriation of the O'Neils, i. 295  
 Expedition under General Hoche, ii. 217  
 Expenditure, total, i. 20  
 Expenses of Elizabeth's wars, i. 302  
 Extirpation of the Desmonds, i. 266  
 Fairs, iii. 47  
 Falkland, George, chief governor, ii. 3  
 Family Wars of the O'Briens, i. 144  
 Farm, model, at Glasnevin, iii. 240  
 Farm reports, form of, iii. 4  
 Farms and estates, management of, iii. 87  
 Feuds of English by birth and English by blood, i. 195; of the Butlers and Geraldines, i. 229, 232  
 Fever, iii. 39  
 Financial position of government, 1707—1773, ii. 162—175  
 Fire-worshippers, iii. 96  
 Fitzgerald, sheriff of Tipperary, ii. 243  
 Fitzgeralds, earls of Kildare and Desmond, i. 129  
 Fitzgibbon, Serj., on Irish distress, ii. 416  
 Fitzwilliam, Earl of, lord lieutenant, ii. 219  
 Fitzwilliam, Sir William, i. 282  
 Flax, importation of, iii. 292  
 Fletcher, Judge, on Irish distress, ii. 419  
 Flood, Right Hon. Frederick, ii. 177, 190  
 Foreigners repair to Ireland for education, iii. 206  
 Forfeiture of the O'Neil's estates, i. 294, 304  
 Fortescue, Lord, estate of, iii. 76  
 Forty Shilling Freeholders' Act, ii. 223  
 Foster, Baron, on causes of disturbances, ii. 417  
 Fox, Charles James, his ministry, iii. 411; contrasted with Pitt, 413  
 Fox, Judge, tried for libel, iii. 408  
 Franchise, laws regulating, ii. 451  
 Fraternity of St. George, i. 231  
 Freeman's Journal, establishment of, ii. 155  
 Free trade, ii. 178  
 Friends of the constitution, liberty, and peace, ii. 214  
 Future, the, of Ireland, iii. 480  
 Gas, supply of, to Dublin, ii. 386  
 Gascoin wine, importation of, iii. 290  
 Genelg, Lord, secretary for Ireland, iii. 430  
 Georgian Club proposed by O'Connell, iii. 432  
 Gerald Desmond's letter to Earl of Ormonde, i. 264  
 Gerald, Earl of Desmond, death of, i. 266

- Gerald, Earl of Kildare, death of, i. 248
- Geraldines, triumph of the, i. 191
- Glamorgan's, Earl of, mission, ii. 45
- Glass, manufacture of, iii. 315
- Governing families, i. 81
- Government, the, bankrupt, ii. 159
- Government, separate form of, pernicious, ii. 267
- Grand canal, the, ii. 290, 317, 319, 321
- Grattan, Henry, ii. 160, 178; his declaration of Irish grievances, 183; denounces various abuses, 207; his public measures, 209; withdraws from public life, 222; re-enters the house, 259; death and character, 430
- Grenville, Lord, forms a ministry, iii. 411
- Grey, Earl, premier, iii. 447
- Habeas Corpus Act, the first, ii. 182; suspension of, iii. 387, 396
- Hamilton, Richard, ii. 183
- Halifax, Earl of, lord lieutenant, ii. 148
- Hand-loom weavers, iii. 314
- Harbours, &c., grants to, by Irish parliament, ii. 312
- Harcourt, Lord, lord lieutenant, ii. 158
- Hardwicke, Earl of, lord lieutenant, iii. 386; resigns, 410
- Hawarden, Lord, estate of, ii. 75
- Henry de Londres, i. 328
- Henry VII.'s government, i. 238
- Hibernian Joint-stock Bank, iii. 352
- Hibernian Marine School, iii. 228
- Hibernian School, iii. 227
- History of English connexion with Ireland, i. 77
- Howley's, Serjeant, evidence before land commission, ii. 422
- Hugh O'Neil, second earl of Tyrone, i. 272, 280
- Imports and exports, i. 19; ii. 370; iii. 302
- Improvements, compensation for, ii. 442
- Income and expenditure, i. 16, 21
- Independents, iii. 177
- Industrial and literary training, iii. 241, 244
- Industry of the cultivator, measures, value of land, iii. 2
- Influence of American and French revolutions, ii. 211
- Inland Navigation Company, ii. 297
- Institute of the Christian Brothers, iii. 249
- Insurgents, ii. 98; revenge of, ii. 247
- Internal feuds, i. 114, 177
- Invasion, state of Ireland at the, i. 48, 77
- Invasion of the Scotch, i. 158
- Ireland, early condition of, i. 48; during the protectorate, ii. 64
- Ireton, Cromwell's son-in-law, ii. 61
- Irish Arms Bill, iii. 416
- Irish affairs during reign of James II. misrepresented, ii. 98
- Irish affairs, integral part of history of England, i. 220
- Irish, character of, by old and modern writers, iii. 23
- Irish church and church of Rome, differences between, iii. 100
- Irish church, two parties in, iii. 117; changes in, 135; statistics of, 139
- Irish Coercion Bill, iii. 449
- Irish forfeitures, summary of, ii. 116
- Irish government under James I., i. 295
- Irish language, denunciation of, i. 345; encouragement of, 353
- Irish parliament, merely nominal, i. 126; in England, 203; frequently intermitted, ii. 161; independence of, 178, 185; corruption of, 215; assembled for last time, 258
- Irish railway commission, ii. 356
- Irish Reform Act, iii. 455
- Irish Society, iii. 251
- Irish Waste Land Society, ii. 454
- Jackson, Rev. Mr., charged with high treason, ii. 219
- James the chaste, i. 203
- James, first Duke of Ormonde, ii. 15, 34
- James I.'s Ulster plantation, i. 304; his plans and performances, 314
- James II., Ireland under, ii. 96; his character, 99; his reception at Kinsale, 108
- James Fitzmaurice, of Kerry, i. 260
- Johnson, Judge, tried for libel, iii. 408
- Joint-stock Banks' Committee, iii. 364
- Kildare, Earl of, ascendancy and fall of, i. 228
- Kildare Place Society, iii. 229
- Kilkenny College, iii. 227
- Kilwarden, Lord, murdered, iii. 390
- Kingsborough, Lord, receives possession of town of Wexford, ii. 246
- King's prerogative of consent to money bills, ii. 141
- Kohl's description of Irish misery, i. 5
- Kyteler, Dame Alice, i. 331



- Lace trade, iii. 315  
 Lagan, the river, ii. 300, 377  
 Lambert, Simnel, King of Ireland, i. 235  
 Land taken by corporation of London, i. 306; historically considered, ii. 388; forfeiture of, 399; practically and socially considered, iii. 1; agents and receivers, 84; legislation affecting, ii. 395, 399; iii. 92  
 Landed interest, present condition of, ii. 393  
 Landlords and tenants, ii. 389; equitable power of, iii. 74; English, estates of, iii. 77  
 Larcon, Capt., on productiveness of the soil, iii. 12  
 Learning, Ireland early celebrated for, iii. 203  
 Leases, ii. 429; law for regulating, needed, 448  
 Legal reforms under James I., i. 318  
 Leicester, Earl of, resigns vice-royalty, ii. 40  
 Leinster and Munster railways, ii. 372  
 Limerick navigation, ii. 288, 335; inefficacy of government aid, 314  
 Linen trade, ii. 83; iii. 312  
 Lismore School, iii. 205  
 Litchfield compact, the, iii. 452, 457  
 Loftus, Archbishop, i. 357  
 London Hibernian Society, iii. 229  
 Lords justices appointed by William III., ii. 121  
 Lords of the pale, ii. 32  
 ✕ Loss of life during the rebellion, ii. 252  
 Love match of the sixth Desmond, i. 212  
 Lough Swilly, improvement of, ii. 318  
 Lower classes, virtues of, iii. 17, 25  
 Lucas, Dr., ii. 155  
 Lucas, Mr., sabred to death, ii. 233  
 Macmurrough and others knighted, i. 205  
 Manufactures, resolutions against the use of English, ii. 203; early, ii. 288; improvement of, 316  
 March, Earl, slain, i. 207  
 Margaret, Queen of Henry VI., i. 226  
 Mariscos, the, i. 169  
 Marriages, early, iii. 38  
 Martial law, proclamation of, iii. 387, 396  
 Massacres at Wrexford, ii. 249  
 Mathew, Father, iii. 79  
 Maurice, Earl of Desmond, i. 187, 190  
 Maynooth College, iii. 225, 253, 268, 417  
 Maynooth College Act, iii. 252  
 Military force of Ireland, i. 314  
 Militia, iii. 388  
 Misgovernment by James I., i. 315  
 Missions and negotiations in 1644, ii. 32  
 Model Agricultural Schools, iii. 243  
 Monks of La Trappe, ii. 454  
 Moravians, iii. 177  
 Mountcashel, Earl of, slain for ascertaining value of land, iii. 8  
 Moy navigation, ii. 405  
 Mulloy, Bishop of Ferns, i. 328  
 Municipal corporations, ii. 264; act for regulating, iii. 455  
 Municipal Reform Act (English), iii. 456  
 Music and poetry, i. 73  
 Music, Hullah's system of, iii. 240  
 National Bank of Ireland, iii. 365  
 National congress at Dublin, ii. 198  
 National system of education, character and cost of, iii. 218, 233, 246  
 Natives fill offices of government, ii. 108  
 Newry navigation, ii. 302, 320, 322  
 Northern Banking Company, iii. 350  
 North's, Lord, ministry dissolved, ii. 182  
 Nugent, General, ii. 237  
 O'Brien, Lord Inchiquin, ii. 40, 45  
 O'Briens, The, i. 117  
 O'Connell, Daniel, his political *débüt*, iii. 420; his family, 422, 463; arrested for a libel, 436; enters House of Commons, 445; indicted, 448; again indicted and imprisoned, 459; character, 462  
 O'Connor, royal family of, i. 141  
 Oligarchy under James I., i. 318  
 Oliver, St. John, Lord Grandison, i. 325  
 Ollam Fodla's Cottage, iii. 204  
 O'Neils, kings of Ulster, i. 270, 269  
 Orange Society, iii. 400, 428  
 Origin of the inhabitants, i. 48  
 Ormonde family take the lead in office, i. 196; the third, 207; the fourth, 209, 217; revived ascendancy of house of, ii. 17; twelfth, early life, 15; commissioner for Kilkenny, 33; abilities as a general, 34; lord lieutenant, 40; estates, 69; character, 70, 85, 90; removed from office, 84; death, 90  
 Outline of history of Ireland since death of O'Connell, iii. 472

- Outrages consequent upon proclamations against rebels, ii. 238  
 Owen O'Neil, Colonel, ii. 37  
 Palladius, iii. 96  
 Papists, laws against, ii. 126  
 Palmerston, Lord, estate of, iii. 77  
 Parliamentary commissions on education, iii. 216  
 Passage boats, ii. 370  
 Patriots, the, ii. 145  
 Patterns, iii. 47  
 Paving Board, iii. 405  
 Payments by Great Britain and Ireland on account of joint charges of United Kingdom, i. 11  
 Peasantry, good qualities of, iii. 14; wretchedness of, 33; healthiness of the children, 37  
 Pecuniary embarrassments, ii. 162, 177  
 Peel, Mr., secretary for Ireland, iii. 426; speech against Catholic claims, 428; Sir Robert, 457  
 Peerages, sale of, ii. 205  
 Peers and landlords memorialize Charles I., ii. 28  
 Pelagius, iii. 96  
 Penal laws, extent of, ii. 122  
 Pennefather, Chief Justice, on laws of landlord and tenant, ii. 421  
 Perceval, Mr.: his administration, iii. 416; assassinated, 425  
 Perkin Warbeck, i. 236, 241  
 Persecution of house of Desmond, i. 253  
 Petitions for English laws, i. 186  
 Piers Gaveston, i. 157  
 Pitt's resignation, cause of, iii. 385; he resumes office, 397; his character, 407; death, 410; his share in effecting the Union, 380  
 Plantations of James I., i. 303, 316  
 Police, establishment of, iii. 428  
 Poor law, a substantial and comprehensive, wanted, ii. 444; failure and expense of, iii. 39, 41  
 Political revolutions, general laws of, ii. 185  
 Pope's supremacy, iii. 102  
 Poplin manufacture, iii. 315  
 Population, i. 1; ii. 370, 372  
 Portland, Duke of, lord lieutenant, ii. 182  
 Post-office revenue, ii. 372  
 Poyning's, Sir E., laws, i. 239  
 Presbyterian church, iii. 171; grants to, 173; establishments maintained by, 175; income of, 175  
 Primitive buildings, i. 53—61  
 Primitive clothing, i. 70  
 Prince John, Lord of Ireland, i. 119  
 Prizes awarded for manufactures, iii. 310  
 Profligacy of ministers, ii. 214  
 Proportion of Catholics to Protestants, iii. 162  
 Prostration of native Irish, ii. 116  
 Protestants and Catholics, pretensions of, ii. 43  
 Protestant ascendancy in church and state, ii. 84  
 Protestant Church of Ireland independent of Church of England, i. 344  
 Protestants, Presbyterians, and Roman Catholics, comparative resources of, iii. 176  
 Provincial Bank of Ireland, iii. 355  
 Public money applied by legislature to Ireland, i. 29  
 Public officers, i. 37  
 Public works, ii. 263; mismanaged by government, 270; in other countries, 277; amount of money applied to, 320, 326, 379; new era of, 332; last attack on private enterprise, 377  
 Purcell, Peter, mail contractor, ii. 353  
 Quakers, iii. 176  
 Railways, ii. 280, 346; numerous projects for, 355; state of railway enterprise, 359; localities for, 370  
 Rapacity of James I. and his ministers, i. 312  
 Rapacity of landlords, ii. 390  
 Rebellion of 1641, ii. 20; misrepresented, 25  
 Rebellion of 1798, ii. 224; the government culpable for, 253  
 Reclamation of waste lands, ii. 452  
 Red de Burgh, career of the, i. 139, 155  
 Redesdale, Lord, his opinions of English control of Ireland, iii. 398  
 Reform Bill, iii. 456  
 Reformation, the, i. 326; in Ireland a political innovation, 339, 349; temporal character of, 342  
 Reforms, imperfect, ii. 200, 218  
 Regency, the, ii. 195, 204  
 Regium donum, iii. 174  
 Religion and its establishments, iii. 95; ancient traces of, in Ireland, 96; in Ireland generally, 193  
 Religious establishments under Charles I., i. 347; anomalous position of, iii. 182; should be equally recognised as matter of law, 185, 200

- Rent, recovery of, ii. 421  
 Rents, quit and crown, ii. 427  
 Repeal Association, iii. 457  
 Repeal of the Union, demonstrations of, iii. 419; brought before the house, 450; government patronage to persons in favour of, 453; municipalities petition for, 457; monster meetings for, 457  
 Revenues of Ireland, i. 14; of customs, excise, stamps, and post office, i. 23—27; of the Irish church, i. 32; from 1783 to 1800, ii. 262; waste and mismanagement, iii. 401  
 Revolution of 1688 decided in Ireland, ii. 96; of 1782, 187  
 Ribandmen, iii. 63  
 Richard II. at the head of numerous forces, i. 204; no warrior, i. 206  
 Richard, Duke of York, i. 221  
 Rinuccini, character of, ii. 52  
 Rival houses of Desmond and Ormonde, i. 262  
 Rivers and canals, improvement of, ii. 286; total tonnage, 306  
 Rockingham, Earl of, his administration, ii. 182  
 Roger Moore and the rebellion of 1641, ii. 22, 35  
 Roger Outlaw, prior of Kilmainham, i. 334  
 Roman Catholic Bishops, appointment of, iii. 427  
 Roman Catholic Religion, attempt to establish, in England, ii. 98; parliament, 110; church, iii. 162; chapels, 170; establishments, sources of income, 167; religion still flourishes, iii. 178  
 Roman Catholics in power, ii. 108  
 Rowan, Mr. Hamilton, convicted of libel, ii. 219  
 Royal Bank of Ireland, iii. 368  
 Royal Canal, the, ii. 295, 320, 322  
 Rundale system, ii. 433  
 Russell, Thomas, heads an insurrection, iii. 391  
 Rutland, Duke of, lord lieutenant, ii. 195  
 Scholastic enactments, iii. 211  
 Schools, injured by Danish invasion, iii. 205; foundation of royal, charter, &c., 215; endowed, of Ireland, 217; diocesan free, 218; royal, of Ireland, 220; statistics, 219, 230, 235; charter, 224; blue coat, 225; model, in Dublin, 239; evening, 242. See also "Education," and various schools by name  
 Scotch and Irish government compared, i. 45  
 Seas, number of, at invasion, iii. 118  
 Seminaries, number of Irish, who founded, iii. 204  
 Settlement of the English, i. 128  
 Shane O'Neil, i. 272  
 Shannon, improvement of, ii. 272, 288, 296, 316, 319, 339, 341  
 Sheep and cattle, number of, sold at Ballinasloe, iii. 53  
 Shiel, Richard Lalor, iii. 436; his oratory, 437  
 Ship building, iii. 315  
 Sidmouth, Lord, iii. 415  
 Siege of Derry, ii. 103  
 Smith, Erasmus, founds schools, iii. 216  
 Society for the education of the poor, iii. 249  
 Society of Friends, iii. 176  
 Speaker's salary, ii. 147  
 Spies and informers, iii. 68; consequent demoralization, 72  
 Stanley, Lord, his bill to compensate tenantry for improvements, ii. 442; his estate, iii. 77  
 Star chamber in Dublin Castle, i. 307  
 Statistics of religious denominations, i. 31  
 Statute of the Six Articles, i. 340  
 Statutes of Kilkenny, i. 199, 201  
 Steam engines, iii. 306  
 St. Kyran's College, Kilkenny, iii. 276  
 St. Malachy, iii. 113  
 Stone, Primate, ii. 136  
 St. Patrick, iii. 96  
 Stafford, Lord, administration of, ii. 1; his tyranny, 8  
 Stuart de Decies, Lord, iii. 439  
 Stuarts, tyranny of, ii. 20  
 Sugann, Earl of Desmond, i. 290  
 Suir Navigation Company, ii. 304  
 Sunday School Society, iii. 251  
 Swift's, Dean, account, of Ireland, ii. 132  
 Synod at Kilkenny, ii. 36  
 Tabinet manufacture, iii. 315  
 Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, i. 210  
 Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnel, ii. 96; lieutenant-general of the Irish army, 98  
 Talbots succeed to power, i. 216



- Tanistry and gavelkind, i. 68  
 Tarmium or Termon (privileged lands), i. 355  
 Temperance movement, iii. 79  
 Temporalities of the church, iii. 126, 132  
 Tenancy at will, ii. 437  
 Tenant right, ii. 433  
 Tenures, ancient, ii. 393  
 Ten years' war against Gerald, Earl of Desmond, i. 260  
 Threatening notices, iii. 78  
 Tipperary Joint-stock Bank, iii. 369  
 Tithe Bill, the present, iii. 145  
 Tithe war in Ireland, iii. 142  
 Tithes, wholesale appropriation of, i. 345; extension of, iii. 120; parliamentary proceedings relative to, 121; war of peasants against, 452  
 Townshend, Lord, lord lieutenant, ii. 151  
 Tories, long reign of, brought to a close, iii. 447  
 Trade, principal localities of, ii. 368; manufactures, and commerce, iii. 288—321  
 Tralee harbour and canal, ii. 205  
 Treatise between Ormonde and the confederates, ii. 49, 55  
 Treaty of Limerick violated, ii. 111, 127  
 Trinity College, iii. 214, 257; statistics of endowment, 259  
 Troops in Ireland, number of, i. 34  
 Turnpike roads, ii. 283, 347  
 Two lords-deputies and two parliaments, i. 233  
 Tyrone navigation, ii. 303, 322  
 Ulick Negan, atrocities of, ii. 20  
 Ulster Banking Company, iii. 368  
 Ulster canal, ii. 303, 335  
 Ulster railway, ii. 308  
 Union of church and state in Ireland, i. 326  
 Union, the, inevitable, ii. 195, 204; different views of, ii. 255; first proposals for, defeated, 257; completed, 258; means employed to accomplish it, 259; defects of the measure, 260; planned in reign of Charles II., iii. 380; share of Pitt in effecting, 380  
 United Irishmen, ii. 214, 226, 247; Irish National Guard of, ii. 214  
 University of Dublin, i. 352; iii. 213  
 Universities, attempts to found, iii. 209  
 Value of land and rental, i. 7; iii. 2  
 Vessels, number and tonnage of, iii. 304  
 Volunteers, the, ii. 175, 198  
 Wakefield's exposition of the establishment, iii. 124  
 Wakes, iii. 47  
 Wales, Prince of, becomes regent, iii. 423; becomes king, 432; entry into Dublin, 432  
 Walpole, Horace, on condition of tenantry, ii. 416  
 Wars of York and Lancaster, i. 220, 227; of the O'Neils with English crown, i. 278; of the confederates, ii. 22  
 Waterford and Limerick railway, ii. 354  
 Wellesley bridge and docks, ii. 333  
 Wellesley Pole, Secretary for Ireland, iii. 424  
 Wellesley, Sir Arthur, Secretary for Ireland, iii. 416; Marquis of, lord-lieutenant, 433. See "Wellington."  
 Wellington, Duke of, resigns lord-lieutenancy, iii. 441  
 Welsh invaders of Ireland, i. 95  
 Wesleyan Methodists, iii. 177  
 Whig Club, the, ii. 211  
 Wicklow Byrnes, the, i. 310  
 William III., Ireland under, ii. 119  
 Witchcraft, trial for, i. 331  
 Wolf Tone, ii. 229  
 Wollaghan, Hugh, convicted of murder, ii. 242  
 Woollen manufacture, iii. 290, 296, 314  
 Year 1793, ii. 216  
 Yeomanry, none in Ireland, ii. 450  
 York, Duke of, patronizes Orange Society, iii. 400; his bigotry, 439; death, 441  
 Youghal College, iii. 210  
 Young Ireland party, iii. 460



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